The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

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THE TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

Bangalore, 12th September 1932

DR. E. P. METCALFE, D.SC., F.INST.P.
in the Chair

THE Twenty-second Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society was held in the Daly Memorial Hall on Monday, the 12th September 1932 at 6 P.M. with Dr. E. P. Metcalfe, D.SC., F.Inst.P., Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University, in the Chair, when a large number of members and friends were present.

Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao, M.A., President of the Society, in offering a most hearty welcome to the distinguished Chairman of the Meeting, made the following introductory speech.

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

We are justified in claiming Dr. Metcalfe as an Indian; he has been with us now for over two decades and his father is still remembered as the pioneer of higher education in the Telugu country. Our distinguished Chairman of this evening obtained the B.Sc. degree with first class honours at the

University College, London, and came into close association with well-known men of science. From London, where he was also a post-graduate scholar doing research work for two years, he proceeded to Cambridge to pursue his studies under Sir J. J. Thomson at the Cavendish Laboratory. Recommended by Sir William Ramsay, he came as a professor of the Central College where he became principal. On the retirement of Dr. Seal, he was raised to his present position of the Vice-Chancellor of our university.

The physics laboratory in the Central College was designed by him and was constructed under his personal supervision; and the chemistry block also was constructed on the same model. The improvement in science instruction and the research work in our University College of Science owe their influence to his splendid guidance and brilliant example. Dr. Metcalfe has carried on successfully experiments in important spectroscopic research. His papers on subjects like the optical and electrical properties of gases and vapours are well known.

The remarkable discovery of the selective absorption of light by electrically luminiscent mercury vapour by Dr. Metcalfe led to several papers being published by him and his friend and colleague Professor B. Venkatesachar; and great activity in spectroscopic work originating from these researches has made the Central College a leading school of research in India with an international reputation. The doctorate of science of the London University was conferred upon him in recognition of his original investigations. He is also a Fellow of the University College, London, and a Fellow of the Institute of Physics. As a wireless specialist, it is unnecessary for me to dwell on his achievements.

In addition to his proficiency in science, he is well known as an excellent player on the violin disproving the oft-mentioned negative correlation between scientific pursuits and artistic tastes.

Dr. Metcalfe is one of our foundation members and as an instance of his wide cultural tastes and close association

with the aims and objects of our Society, may I refer to the fact that the Central College Library has a set of the Indian Antiquary and Epigraphia Indica, the stock in trade of the antiquarian scholar? With these few words, gentlemen, let me introduce to you our worthy Chairman of this evening. Dr. Metcalfe, I extend you a hearty welcome on behalf of myself and on behalf of the Mythic Society.

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Mr. S. Srikantaya, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., General Secretary and Treasurer, then read the following report for the year 1931-32 :—

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1931-32.

The Committee of the Mythic Society have great pleasure in placing before you this evening the report of the Society's activities during the year 1931-32.

It is a matter of great rejoicing and gratification to us that our Patron, His Highness Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar, completed a most arduous and successful pilgrimage to Mount Kailasa and Manasarovara. A short, illustrated account of this eventful journey was published in the Journal with the gracious permission of His Highness and the kind assistance rendered by the Palace.

Membership.—The strength in our membership continues to be steady. We would respectfully appeal to the members in arrears to pay up their dues and also to secure fresh members for the Society.

During the year, the loss to the Society by the death of its members was heavy and it is our most painful duty to record the demise of the following :—The late Maharaja of Cochin, Sir Dorabji Tata, Sir S. E. Pears, Rajamantrapravina C. S. Balasundaram Iyer, The Hon'ble Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, Rajasabhabhushana Karpur Srinivasa Rao, Rao Bahadur B. V. Venkataswami Naidu, The Hon'ble Mr. A. Suryanarayana Rao and Messrs. K. Chandrasekharaiya and Vedam Venkatachalam Iyer. Several of these were office-bearers of

the Society and the last a valued contributor. We offer our condolences to the bereaved members of their families.

Finance :—Total receipts during the year amounted to Rs. 4,141–14–6. As against an opening balance of Rs. 102–12–6, the closing balance was Rs. 208–9–6. In October 1931, under Government Order No. G. 3202–3/G.M. 56–31–1, dated the 14th October 1931, the temporary grant of Rs. 100 per month was reduced to Rs. 50, the annual reduction being Rs. 600. The work which the Mythic Society has been rendering cannot be measured in terms of current coin and it is needless to dilate upon the inconvenience which has been caused to the Society in carrying on its activities. Representations are being made to the Government for a reconsideration of this order and it is hoped it will be possible for the Government to see its way to accede to our request. We desire to express our grateful thanks to our Honorary Auditor, Mr. T. M. S. Subramaniam, for undertaking to audit our accounts during the year.

Exchanges :—Our exchanges, which exceed a hundred, include practically all the learned periodicals in the world interested in our work. Most of these are bound together in separate volumes and preserved in the Library.

Reading Room :—The Reading Room attached to the Library is well used and there were 3,019 visitors during the year. All our journals and exchanges, in addition to the several daily newspapers, are available to the readers.

Library :—Considerable accessions are being made to the Library from time to time and, during the year under review, Messrs. Longmans Green & Co., Taraporevala Sons & Co. and the Oxford University Press have presented several books to us for notice in the Journal. Our thanks are due to the Government of India, the several provincial administrations in India and Burma, the States of Mysore, Hyderabad, Baroda, Kashmir, Travancore, Cochin and Puduccottai, the Universities of Mysore, Madras and Calcutta, and the Annamalai University and various other institutions and publishers and authors for sending works for review.

Our efforts at collecting the back numbers of several periodicals of antiquarian interest met with further success in the year. We appeal to our members and to the public to present us with back numbers of journals of antiquarian interest so that we may be able to possess complete sets of these for their benefit.

The Director of Public Instruction in Mysore has been pleased to send us another instalment of books and our grateful thanks are due to him. We look forward to the receipt of a still larger number of volumes from him at no distant date.

Lack of space and want of funds happen to be great drawbacks in putting the library in an efficient working condition. In addition to the provision of an attender and a librarian, separate accommodation to locate the library and to provide facilities for reference and research is absolutely essential and many more almirahs are required to arrange the books. But these have to be deferred till the depressing financial situation is tided over and both the Government and the philanthropic public are in a position to extend financial help to us.

Journal:—As a high class periodical of historical and antiquarian interest, the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* is very popular and attracts increasing attention at the hands of the learned. The reviews of books and editorials are well received. We are very grateful to our numerous contributors and others who have helped us to this end.

Daly Memorial Hall:—The premises of the Daly Memorial Hall and the garden attached to it are maintained in good condition. The Hall has been used, as usual, by the Mysore Civil Service Association, the Mysore Amildars' Association and other bodies for their conferences and meetings. The inaugural meeting of the Mysore Journalists' Association over which His Highness the Yuvaraja presided was also held in our Hall.

Visitors:—Professor Otto Stein of the University of Prague, Rev. Fr. H. Heras, President of the Bombay

Historical Society and Mr. P. V. Jagadisa Iyer of Madras visited the Mythic Society and were pleased with the work conducted under its auspices.

General:—A valued member of the Society has offered a prize of Rs. 50 for the best essay in English on "The Evolution of the Kannada Drama". The competition is open to all and the essays for entry should reach the General Secretary on or before the 15th May 1933. The details are already published in the daily press and will also be referred to in the Journal for October 1932.

In conclusion, we beg to express our gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, His Highness the Yuvaraja, His Highness the Maharaja's Government and to the Government of India for their continued support and their generous sympathy with the objects of the Society.

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Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao proposing and Mr. M. Venkatesa Iyengar seconding, the Report was duly adopted.

Prof. F. R. Sell, in proposing Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao for re-election as the President of the Society, referred in highly appreciative terms to the learning and scholarship of Mr. Shama Rao and said that a worthier President for the Society was hard to find. The proposition, on being ably seconded by Prof. P. Sampat Iyengar, was carried with acclamation.

Proposed by Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Rama Rao and seconded by Mr. D. Venkatramiah, the following gentlemen were unanimously elected to the several offices and to the Committee :—

Vice-Presidents :

Sir Mirza M. Ismail.
Mr. K. S. Chandrasekhara Aiyar.
Mr. P. Raghavendra Rao.
Mr. K. R. Srinivasiengar.
Mr. K. Chandy.
Mr. C. S. Doraswami Iyer.

Mr. K. Matthan.
Mr. R. Narasimhachar.
Dr. E. P. Metcalfe.

General Secretary and Treasurer :

Mr. S. Srikantaya.

Joint Secretary :

Mr. A. V. Ramanathan.

Editors :

Prof. F. R. Sell.
Mr. K. Devanathachariar.
Mr. S. Srikantaya.

Branch Secretaries :

For Ethnology :—Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao.
For History :—Rev. Fr. C. Browne.
For Folklore :—Mr. B. Puttaiya.

Committee :

The above and the President *ex-officio* and
Prof. P. Sampat Iyengar.
Dr. R. Shama Sastri.
Mr. N. S. Subba Rao.
Mr. A. R. Wadia.
Dr. M. H. Krishna.

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

Amidst loud and continued cheers, Dr. Metcalfe then rose and delivered the following interesting and instructive address :—

I must felicitate the Mythic Society on the completion of yet another year of active life and on the flourishing condition disclosed in the Report just read; and this in the face of external depressions which, in the case of the Society, seem to be reflected chiefly in a diminution in the assistance given to it by the Government. However, in spite of this circumstance and in spite also of some apparent difficulty in realizing subscriptions, the health of the Society seems to be thoroughly sound, reflecting much credit on those to whom the management of its affairs has

been entrusted. It is a matter for congratulation that the Society has not merely survived the uncertainties and dangers which commonly beset the early life of such associations, but has steadily maintained its vigour and increased its reputation.

The Mythic Society was founded some twenty years ago in a very modest way. The original plan, as I remember it, was to form a kind of study circle, to meet quite informally at members' homes, in rotation, to discuss Indian folk-lore and manners and customs. The idea speedily developed far beyond this primitive intention; and by the efforts of keen and highly competent scholars like Mr. F. J. Richards, the late Father Tabard (who was of such personality in the antiquarian world that he may be said at one time to have been *himself* the Mythic Society), my old friend Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and others, the Society was formed under its present somewhat ambiguous name. Later, obtaining a local habitation in this Hall and accumulating reputation and recognition at the hands of distinguished personages and bodies, the Society has become securely established; and enjoys the proud position of being one of the two leading antiquarian societies in India.

To be quite candid, my own connection with the Society has been little more than nominal, though I was actually among the founder members. My work and, in consequence, my chief interests have been in other directions; and, beyond reading with much enjoyment the limited portion of the Society's Journal falling within my comprehension, I have hardly shared the full benefits which the Society so freely provides for the instructed. For this reason, I am afraid that I cannot be regarded as an appropriate Chairman for your Annual Meeting. I am none the less grateful to you for giving me the pleasure of presiding on this occasion.

During the last three years, by a turn of fortune, I have come into association in an official capacity with a powerful and active agency of antiquarian research in the Mysore Archæological Department: and my interest in antiquarianism has accordingly been very practically engaged.

This department, which, as many of you are no doubt aware, is now being worked with, and to a large extent by the University, is producing results of great value and interest. The department came to the University with an already established reputation, earned under a succession of distinguished chiefs. It is highly gratifying to me, as the executive head of the University, to find this excellent reputation maintained and even extended under the management of my able colleague, Dr. M. H. Krishna.

By way of including in this address something of antiquarian interest I will give you a very brief account of an outstanding piece of work recently carried to the first stage of completion by the Archæological Department. This will take the form of my own impressions obtained as a result of a flying visit which I made not long ago to the site of one of Dr. Krishna's recent researches.

For the first time in this part of India, the technique of archæological investigation developed abroad by Flinders, Petrie and others has been employed in excavation works carried on by Dr. Krishna near the hill fortress of Chitra Durga, at Chandravalli.

A flat area in that neighbourhood had been noticed by Sir John Marshall as the possible site of an extinct township ; and one or two trial pits had been put down by the Archæological Department with promising results. This work was taken up systematically by Dr. Krishna under the encouragement of my predecessor, Sir B. N. Seal; and interesting finds began to come to light.

The site adjoins a watercourse, usually dry; but carrying a considerable rush of water during heavy rain. In consequence, the channel has been deepened by the erosion of the flow and objects such as pottery, tiles, etc., have been found protruding from its side, indicating the probability of a succession of buried habitation levels. The site itself is a large level stretched at the foot of the Chitaldrug mountain from the washed-down detritus of which it has evidently been formed. In this way, of course, the ground level has

gradually risen; and thus successive horizons containing remains of human occupation have been buried. There seem to be no less than half a dozen of such horizons, each characterized by certain peculiarities. These, undoubtedly, represent successive townships or settlements. The lowest horizon is of the neolithic period, yielding a variety of beautifully fashioned stone implements.

The clay of the neighbourhood is of a quality suitable for the manufacture of pottery and bricks; and successive inhabitants of the area seem to have taken full advantage of this circumstance. Judging by the really enormous quantity of potsherds on the site—so large as to appear almost to constitute the local geological formation!—the chief interest in life of the people must have centred in the making of earthen vessels. A large number of these, of various shape and quality, either complete or not much broken, have been recovered. By the kindness of Dr. Krishna we have some representative specimens here this evening. These range from objects of humble style and primitive execution to polished, glazed and decorated ware of a much higher standard. I understand that certain important conclusions may be arrived at from the decorative style of some of this work, which has not persisted to the present day in this part of the country. Dr. Krishna will, I hope, tell the Mythic Society more about this at some future date.

I believe that the quality of the pottery found at the different levels does not improve markedly all the way up to the surface. One of the main evidences of a rise in the standard of civilization lies in the substitution of iron implements for neoliths. This is a very obvious indication of improvement and advance and it seems to have occurred at a period represented by the lowest levels. There is, I believe, only one neolithic level yet found; and geological considerations suggest that the excavations have really reached the bottom habitation level.

Dr. Krishna has photographed a collection of metal objects found in the several levels; and the photographs are

here for your inspection. You will recognize many familiar shapes which have changed but little down to present times. Strange enough is the conspicuous absence of what is perhaps the most common of the metal objects of the wayside in this iron age, the ubiquitous worn-out bullock shoe. No animal shoes of any sort have been recovered. The question immediately suggests itself of what was the earliest age at which the practice of shoeing horses and draught cattle became prevalent in India.

A remarkable and possibly very important observation made in the course of the excavation is connected with the building bricks found in the different levels. These vary in size and shape. The earliest were the largest. It seems quite likely that careful study of the size and shapes of bricks will enable the investigator to identify the various levels at different points over the field; and perhaps even to extend the identification so as to relate these with levels of the same periods brought to light in future excavations in other places. In fact, the characteristic brick form may perhaps mark and date an archæological level somewhat as special fossil forms indicate a geological level. This, however, is as yet only to be regarded as a brilliant conjecture which, I understand, will be the subject of a careful investigation by Dr. Krishna.

The traces of buildings hitherto discovered at Chandravalli appear, for the most part, to be the remains of bases of dwellings on which mud walls may have been supported. It may be imagined that such mud walls would have perished by being washed down, leaving no identifiable remains. These bases—if they *are* only bases—are very definite and regular. Those found in different levels are not similarly orientated. Is it permissible, I wonder, to deduce from this that breaches of continuity of tradition in the matter of the lay-out of the town occurred between successive periods?—leading to the further inference that each town was entirely demolished in turn. There are evidences of two such complete breaches of continuity.

Finds of coins and clay seals have been made in the various levels, from which some idea of the age of each may be formed. The uppermost level may be about 800 years old: the middle group of levels about 2,000: the lowest neolithic cannot be dated.

In the foregoing description of the work which has been done at Chandravalli, you will easily recognize the touch of the non-expert. It represents merely my own impressions of what I saw and was told on the occasion of one visit. It is for Dr. Krishna to give us a proper discourse on the subject of these researches of his; and I hope that it may be possible to arrange an opportunity for him to do so. My own share in the doings at Chandravalli was to carry out the unwelcome task of determining whether in our present straitened circumstances we could afford to go much further with the excavations. After consulting Dr. Krishna, I came to the conclusion, with which he agreed, that there was but little chance of much more in the way of archæological facts coming to light as a result of further work there; while other sites offered better prospects of more interesting discovery. So it was resolved to close the work at Chandravalli at this stage for the present, utilizing our resources elsewhere.

It must be noted that, interesting as the site at Chandravalli undoubtedly is, it appears quite certain that it has always in past times been occupied by humble folk. It is not to be recommended as suitable for treasure-hunting of a lucrative kind.

Before leaving the subject of Chandravalli, I feel that I cannot omit a reference to a really remarkable epigraphical discovery made by Dr. Krishna in that neighbourhood. This is described in the *Archæological Survey Report* of 1929. The inscription is chiselled on the flat face of a large rock about twenty feet by fifteen. It is very much worn. In fact, the casual observer might easily fail to notice that the faint markings on the rock do compose an inscription. Patient study has led to the deciphering of the first three lines only of the inscription—three lines, however, which yield

information of the greatest importance regarding the territorial division of this part of India during a period of which but little seems to be known, the third century A.D. The lines, which are so pregnant in meaning to the historian, translated are:—This tank was constructed by Mayurasarman of the Kadambas who has defeated Trekuta, Abhira, Pallava, Pariyatrika, Sakasthana, Sayindaka, Punata and Mokari.

For the full significance of this laconic statement I would refer you to the dozen or so pages, including maps, which are given as a commentary in the *Archæological Survey Report* already mentioned.

It is now time for me to bring my remarks to a close. I must thank the President, Secretary and Committee of the Mythic Society for giving me this opportunity of saying a few words about some of the antiquarian work which is being done under the University. You will, of course, understand that what I have referred to is, after all, but a small part of the achievement of the Archæological Survey Department in recent years. A great deal more has been and is being done also in the fields of epigraphy and numismatics.

The University is also concerned with the management of still another institution devoted to antiquarian research on the literary side, the Oriental Library. Time does not permit of more than the barest reference to the excellent work which is being turned out by the staff of the Oriental Library. To give some idea of the magnitude of the literary task lying before them, I may mention that the Library possesses some ten thousand manuscripts, mostly of the palm-leaf variety, of which barely half have as yet been examined sufficiently closely for the purpose of a descriptive catalogue.

The association of these two research departments confers upon the University a great privilege and a potentiality for cultural development which not every university enjoys. I feel sure that the Mythic Society will view with the greatest sympathy the efforts which are being made by the University through these departments to advance the cause for which the Society itself stands.

In conclusion, I beg to thank the Mythic Society for honouring me by inviting me to preside this evening.

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Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao proposed a very hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman of the evening in suitable terms which was heartily applauded.

The President of the Society then rose to conclude the Proceedings and expressed his great appreciation for the work of the Society's able and energetic Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. S. Srikantaya and the Curator Mr. M. Venktesia; and he offered the Society's thanks to them which were accorded with acclamation.

With the garlanding of the Chairman and with three cheers to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, the meeting terminated.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE

THE MYTHIC

Statement of Receipts and

Receipts	Amount Rs.	A.	P.
1. Opening Balance	102	12	6
2. Subscription—			
Resident Members	263	10	0
Moffussil Members	468	7	0
Life-Members	15	0	0
3. Grants—			
Government of Mysore	1,721	0	0
Government of India	300	0	0
4. Interest and Dividend on Securities	702	10	0
5. Recoveries from Staff	255	0	0
6. Sales	265	7	0
7. Hall Charges	48	0	0
TOTAL ..	4,141	14	6

Reserve Fund—

	At Face Value Rs.
1. Mysore State Loan 6¼% Stock	9,850
2. Mysore State Loan 6¼% Bonds	200
3. Mysore State Loan 5% Stock	1,500
4. Mysore Bank Share (one)	100
TOTAL ..	11,650

Certified correct.

T. M. S. SUBRAMANIAM,
Hon. Auditor.

SOCIETY, BANGALORE

Expenditure for the year 1931—32.

Payments	Amount Rs.	A.	P.
1. Establishment—			
Pay of the Staff	1,092	0	0
Lighting Charges	151	15	0
Bicycle Account	37	10	0
Garden	103	0	0
Electrical Accessories	32	4	0
Premises	100	12	0
Furniture	61	0	0
2. Journal—			
Printing	1,200	0	0
Postage	313	5	0
Miscellaneous	48	0	0
3. Library—			
Books Purchased	161	13	6
Subscription to Newspapers	74	8	0
Book Binding	127	12	0
Miscellaneous	41	6	0
4. Advances to Staff	162	0	0
5. Mysore Horticultural Society Subscription	24	0	0
6. Stationery	57	7	6
7. Bank's Charges	6	13	0
8. Miscellaneous	137	11	0
9. Closing Balance	208	9	6
Total ..	4,141	14	6

Details for Closing Balance—

	Rs.	A.	P.
1. In the Bank of Mysore	198	4	9
2. With the Curator	0	14	7
3. With the Branch Secretaries	9	6	2
Total ..	208	9	6

S. SRIKANTAYA,
General Secretary and Treasurer.

TWO CENTURIES OF WAḌEYAR RULE IN MYSORE (1565-1761)

By N. Subba Rau, M.A.

Among the dynasties of Southern India which arose and played an important part during the centuries following the battle of Tāḷīkōṭa, that of the Waḍeyars of Mysore claims our foremost attention. For, while many a dynasty contemporaneous with the Waḍeyars is now effete, the latter are yet ruling Mysore preserving and propagating all that is good and noble in Hindu culture. The two centuries after Tāḷīkōṭa formed the most significant period in the history of Karṇāṭaka in general and Mysore in particular, when the Waḍeyar dynasty gradually emerged into the fuller limelight of history, attracted the attention of their contemporaries and evolved a system of government which formed the basis of all later developments. In the following pages, an attempt is made to deal with this subject from the available sources with special reference to (1) polity, (2) economic system, (3) general culture, and (4) some considerations in the light of recent criticisms.

I. Polity.

Early Conditions.—Inscriptions and other sources indicate that Mysore during the period 1565-1610 was one of the tiny principalities subordinate to the Vijayanagar Emperor through the Viceroy (Mahāmanḍaleśvara) of Seringapatam (Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa). The term *sīme*—meaning a territory comprising a congeries of villages—appears to have been applied to Mysore in the same way as it was to other principalities, each of which was generally in a state of war with others and seeking the aid of the Viceroy to destroy the aggressive neighbour—particularly Mysore. If the Viceroy was mature and tactful like Rāmarājayya, he could overawe opposition and strive to ensure peace in the territories under his control; if, however, he were young and inexperienced like Tirumala,

he would easily play himself into the hands of the commander-in-chief and the chieftains and, instead of putting an end to the forces of disorder, would court his own ruin at the hands of the most powerful and enterprising chieftain.[1]

The position of each chieftain or Paḷḷegar was, in theory, analogous to that of the feudal vassal of mediæval Europe. He had to render allegiance to his liege lord, the Viceroy of Seringapatam, to pay him the annual tribute and, in many cases, to contribute his quota of forces—men, horses and elephants—to the imperial army, especially in times of war. So far as Mysore was concerned, however, her chieftain appears to have generally evaded payment of tribute and was always trying to shake off the imperial yoke on some pretext or other, partly by strengthening his position by means of forts and partly by a policy of systematic encroachments on his neighbours. This attitude fructified under Rāja Waḍeyar (1578-1617) who by 1608 became master of a principality of 'thirty-three villages yielding 25,000 varahas per year', and began an important epoch in the history of Mysore by his acquisition of Seringapatam from Tirumala in 1610.[2]

Later Developments (1610-1761)

The King.—The king (*rāja*) was the executive head of the administration. Rāja Waḍeyar and his successors—down to Devarāja Waḍeyar were, in theory, subordinate to the Vijayanagar Emperor even after the acquisition of Seringapatam but, in practice, they were independent, as inscriptions testify. The later rulers completely shook off even the semblance of imperial authority since after 1665 the Empire became politically extinct.

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[1] *Vide* the writer's *Source Book of Karṇāṭaka History : Mysore under the Waḍeyars* (Compiled for the Mysore University, 1929) (*Unpublished*). Also the writer's article *Rāja Waḍeyar and his Successors* (Sec. I) in the *Mys. Uni. Jour.*, Vol. IV (2) ; *E.C.*, 4 (2) ; Ch. 23 ; 3 (1) Nj. 141 ; *M.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 52, etc. (for *sime*).

[2] *Mackenzie Collections* (Madras Oriental MSS. Library): Puttiah's *Mysūru Dhoregaḷa Pūrvābhyudaya Vivara* (ff. 3-7) (*Kaḍitam*) ; also, *Mysūru Samsthānada Vamśa Pāramparе Kaifiyat* (ff. 2-6) (MS. in the Mys. Archl. office).

Kingship was hereditary. Generally the ruler belonged to the elder or senior line of the Royal House inaugurated by Rāja Waḍeyar (1617-37).[3] Immaḍi Rāja Waḍeyar (1637-38) and Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar (1638-59) successively came of the senior line. However, in case of failure of issue in that line, recourse was had to adoption of an heir from the junior. Thus Devarāja Waḍeyar (1659-73), a son of Muppina Devarāja Waḍeyar (step-brother of Rāja Waḍeyar), was adopted and chosen as ruler by Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar. Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar (1673-1704), the successor of Devarāja, likewise belonged to the junior line. This distinction, however, faded under Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar I (1714-32) who, on failure of issue, successively adopted Chāmarāja (1732-34) and Krishṇarāja (afterwards Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar II, 1734-66) who belonged to *arasu* families of good social standing, namely, the Ankanahaḷḷi and Chikkanahaḷḷi families respectively.

The power and prestige of the king, from 1610 down to the close of Chikkadevarāja's reign were really enormous and hence the rulers of the period have been aptly called 'Makers of Modern Mysore'. The decadence and retrogression in royal authority after 1704 were responsible for the *interregnum* of 1761, as already pointed out.

The ancient ideals of kingship were closely observed. The interests of the ruler and the ruled were held identical. In this connection, the dictum 'as is the king, so are the subjects' *(yathā rāja tathā prajāḥ)* was very well put into practice. Punishment of the wicked and protection of the good, were, as ever, the foremost of the king's duties (*dushṭa nigraha śishṭa paripālanam*). Kingly power was based on service to Gods and Brahmins (*deva brāhmaṇa pūjārtham sāmrājyam pratipālayan*).[4] The theocratic ideal of kingship was prominent in the minds of the rulers at first. The idea of kingship as a contract between the

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[3] *Vide* the writer's article on *Devarāja Waḍeyar* (Sec. I), *Mys. Uni. Jour.*, III (1).

[4] *E.C.*, III (1) SR. 151; also, TN. 62; SR. 103; XII KG. 37, etc.

ruler and the ruled gathers increasing importance under Chikkadevarāja and his successors who, however, paid due regard to the earlier traditions as well. The general character of the king and his solicitude for the welfare of the people are borne out by a classic passage[5] referring to the admonition of Doḍḍa Devarāja to his brother Devarāja on the eve of the latter's coronation. Thus runs the thought, "Dear brother, by virtue of your qualities, an ornament to the race of Yadu, all the subjects are pleased with you. I have transferred my burden to you. Henceforward you should rule the country. All glories having been attained by me, the results of my previous deeds have borne fruit. The family gods have favoured me. How happy indeed are the subjects! You have mastered all *śāstras* aud are practising what is laid down therein. By the force of my affection towards you, I would advise you to attend to the service of Gods and Brahmins, without caring too much for your own welfare. You must protect the subjects by showing them parental kindness and mercy. By so doing, your prosperity, wealth and fame will increase." Devarāja,[6] we are told, divided his kingdom into four parts, giving the first to the Brahmins, the second to the Gods, the third to charity, and retaining the fourth for his own use. He is also said to have ruled the country in accordance with the precepts of Smṛti (*smṛtyukta dharma-dindāḷdu*). The deep religious significance of the ideals of kingship is further borne out by the vast body of literary and epigraphical records of the period.

The Crown Prince.—With the growth of the kingdom, the Crown Prince (*Yuvarāja*) became an important element in the polity. Special attention was paid towards his education. Kanṭhīrava Narasa Rāja Waḍeyar I, son of Beṭṭada-chāmarāja Waḍeyar, we are told,[7] was educated in all branches of learning, along with Nanjarāja and Lingarāja (afterwards the commanders-in-chief of his reign), by Brahmin

[5] *Chikkadevarāja Vamśāvaḷi*, pp. 169—170.
[6] *E.C.*, IV (2) YD. 54 ; also *E.C.*, III (1) ; SR. 14.
[7] *K. N. Vijayam*, Ch. IV, 84-86 (*vv*).

teachers and received excellent training in horse-riding, elephant-riding, archery and the use of several kinds of weapons of offence and defence. Aḷahisingarārya[8] was the preceptor of Chikkadevarāja and the latter was taught along with Tirumalārya (son of Aḷahisingarārya) who later became his minister. The items of the prince's education included, among others, training in swordsmanship, archery, horse and elephant riding, philosophy, dharmaśāstras, danḍanīti (the science of politics), drama, rhetoric and language—in all of which Chikkadevarâja is stated to have become proficient.

As Crown Prince (*Yuvarāja*), Chikkadevarāja was of considerable assistance to his uncle Devarāja Waḍeyar in the latter's southern campaigns. Sometimes, the Crown Prince acted as a joint ruler also. Kanṭhīrava Arasu, brother of Chikkadevarāja, ruled the patrimony of Mysore along with Devarāja Waḍeyar, especially after the confinement of Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar.[9] In later times, as the influence of the king dwindled, the habit of associating the Crown Prince in the civil and military administration of the country was discontinued, and in its place arose the system of regency.[10]

The Council.—In the administration of the country, the King was assisted by a council (*Mantrālōchana Sabhā*) after the traditional manner. The composition and character of the council varied. The earliest reference to it is in the reign of Rāja Waḍeyar. We note his brothers Beṭṭadachāmarāja Waḍeyar, Chennarāja and Devarājarasa forming an advisory council to meet exigencies especially in connection with the acquisition of Seringapatam.[11] Though under Rāja Waḍeyar's successors there does not seem to have been any regular council, yet there is enough data at hand to hold that in his administration the King was assisted by the commander-in-chief (*Daḷavoy*) and the minister (*Manṭri*).

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8 *C. Vamśāvaḷi*, p. 155; also colophon to *Commentary on the Mahābhārata*.
9 *Vide* f.n. 3, (*op. cit.*, Sec. 3).
10 *Palace History*, pp. 183-88.
11 *Vide* f.n. 8, *supra*, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

Thus Chāmarāja had a minister by name Govindayya.[12] Timmarasa[13] was the minister of Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar, and he appears to have continued in office down to the reign of Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar. The King's personality, however, counted for much during this period since conquest and annexation of neighbouring territories formed the key-note of the policy of the rulers. But with the commencement of Chikkadevarāja's reign, conditions had become complex. Numerous conquests had been made in all directions while others were yet in progress. The need for consolidation of these conquests was keenly felt by Chikkadevarāja. Accordingly, we notice the revival of the council to help him in his administrative measures.

The council thus revived consisted of Yeḷandur Pandit (well known as Viśālāksha Pandit), Tirumala Iyengar (Tirumalārya), Shaḍaksharayya, Chikkupādhyāya and Karaṇika Lingaṇṇayya—men of varied accomplishments and representatives of Jaina, Brahmanical and Veeraśaiva religions. Of these councillors we have some interesting details.[14] Viśālāksha Pandit was the son of Bommarasa by Summāmbikā. He was an expert in all sciences and in Jaina philosophy and religion. He is referred to as the foremost minister of Chikkadevarāja. He was well known for his economy of words, intelligence and extraordinary virtues. He is said to

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12 *M. A. R.*, 1907-08, p. 23.

13 *Vide* f.n. 7, *supra*, *op. cit.*, Ch. 25, v. 84.

14 *Ananta Kavi*, *Beḷagoḷada Gommaṭeśvara Charitre* (MS., *K.A.*, 202, in the Mysore Oriental Library), pp. 100-09 :

Bommarasana sati summāmbikēya garbhadoḷu....Viśālāksha Panḍitanemba ....sirivantanogeda | Ōdida sakala śāstra....ādiya Sri Jinamatakeṇeyillenāu..|| Chikkadevarājarasage mantriyādanu....mantri kulāgraṇi mitavāṇi jāṇanim sadguṇa maṇimāni mahāmātyam.... | Tannarasina rājyadoḷuḷḷa jinagṛhavanud-dharisi....beḷagoḷatirthadoḷu.. | arhanmatake kanṭakarāgirutirda nerepāshanḍa vargavanu | dhoreyinda negotti nishkanṭakadiravudōruva.... | deva dorbalige.... sale śaka sāviradaru (āru) nūrāgirda Naḷa samvatsarada Phālguṇada | beḷu pakshadèkādaśiyoḷagabhiṣeka.. || bandudu bahuvastu dikkudikkugaḷinda.... mandaisi kūḍitu parishe mastaka puje chandadinda.... ||

(This is a MS. of 149 pages. The verses are not numbered in the MS. This Kannada work was written about 1780.)

have promoted the interests of his religion by erecting and conserving Jaina monuments in the country—particularly at Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa, and by overcoming with the king's help the opponents of the religion of Arhat. In 1679 the Mastaka-pūjā to Dorbali at Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa was performed with great *éclat* under his guidance. In a grant[15], dated 1685, by Chikkadevarāja, he is referred to as 'Doḍḍa Panḍita of Yeḷavandur'. His influence at the court of Mysore appears to have waned after this date and, according to Wilks, his death was brought about by his enemies on sectarian grounds. Tirumalārya, the next important minister, was the son of Aḷahiyasingarārya, the friend and councillor of Doḍḍadevarāja and the preceptor of Chikkadevarāja. He is celebrated as the author of prose and poetical works as also of some Sanskrit inscriptions of the reign and is referred to as the most important adviser of the king in all matters. He is[16] stated to have been 'like Bṛhaspati in the council of Chikkadevarāja'. Shaḍaksharayya, also known as Shaḍaksharideva, was the great Veeraśaiva poet of Chikkadevarāja's court. Chikkupādhyāya was the other Brahmin minister of Chikkadevarāja and is famous as a poet also. Lingaṇṇayya was another important Brahmin councillor and vakil of the king, and is said to have led an embassy to the court of Aurangzeb about 1700.

The council was entirely subordinate to the king, being purely an advisory body. Under the successors of Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar, the council of ministers became more and more powerful and evolved as the actual administrative body. Thus, we note[17], 'during the reign of Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar I, the king's personality and influence hardly made themselves felt, especially in the administration of the country. All power was actually exercised by the king's two relatives Sarvādhikāri Nanjarājayya and Daḷavoy Devarājayya. Chāmarāja Waḍeyar, successor of Krishṇarāja I, chose his

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15 *E.C.*, III (1) Nj. 41.

16 *M.A.R.*, 1908-09, p. 26.

17 *Palace History*, p. 182.

own councillors, Vīra Seṭṭi, Gōpināthiah, Kanṭhīravayya, Kaḍur Chikkayya, Nāraṇappa and Śivanappa, by removing the old councillors. Yet the latter who were very powerful turned traitors, deposed the king and inaugurated their own rule. Under Krishṇarāja II, Venkaṭapathi, the chief Brahmin minister, and Sarvādhikāri Nanjarājayya were prominent personalities in the administration of the country, being assisted by Daḷavoy Devarājayya, Karāchūri Nanjarājayya, Hyder Ali, Dewan Khanḍe Rao and Chennappayya. The bickerings among these ultimately led to the rise of Hyder Ali who became the *de facto* ruler of Mysore in 1761 as already pointed out.

The Commander-in-Chief.—Next to the King, the most important element in the polity was the commander-in-chief (*Daḷavoy*). The circumstances connected with the origin of this office in Mysore are very interesting: "Shortly after his acquisition of Seringapatam," thus runs a version[18], "Rāja Waḍeyar, addressing his councillors, said, 'if we want to extend our territory, our army is not quite sufficient. If we increase the numerical strength of the army, we shall at the same time, have to look to the proper administration of the same by an honest commander-in-chief. Māra Nāyaka, the Daḷavoy at the time of our ancestor Yadu Rāya, was killed because he fell into evil ways. Since then none of our ancestors appointed a *Daḷavoy*.' Thus deliberating, Rāja Waḍeyar appointed Karikāla Mallarājayya, his nephew, as commander-in-chief. The latter, having accepted office, went to Kaḷale saying he would return; but since he did not do so and since, instead, he sent back the insignia of his office, Beṭṭada Arasu, a son of Beṭṭada Chāmarāja Waḍeyar (brother of Rāja Waḍeyar) was appointed to the place. Thus continued the office from Rāja Waḍeyar's time." Another version[19] runs thus, "After Tirumala left Seringapatam to Mālingi, the Chief of Ummattur proceeded against Seringapatam assisted by the surrounding paḷḷegars. Rāja Waḍeyar, however, had little force to cope with the situation. He

[18] *Palace History*, p. 54. [19] *The Kaifiyat*, ff. 7-8.

therefore, sought the assistance of his nephew Karikāla Mallarājayya, Chief of Kaḷale 40,000 country, took oaths from him in front of the Chāmuṇḍeśvari temple and arranged that henceforward Rāja Waḍeyar's descendants should rule Seringapatam, Mysore, Kaḷale and other territories annexed from time to time, while the descendants of Kaḷale Mallarājayya should be Sarvādhikāri (chief ministerial officer) and commander-in-chief. A bhāshā patra (deed of promise) to this effect was drawn up. In 1616 Nandi Nāthayya, son of Mallarājayya, was entrusted with the office of Daḷavoy." Thus, however much the versions may differ, it would be fair to hold that (1) the institution of the office of commander-in-chief was due to the necessity of self-preservation of Mysore against hostile neighbours, (2) it was the outcome of a compact between the Mysore Royal House and the Kaḷale House, and (3) the first commander-in-chief from Rāja Waḍeyar's time was Karikāla Mallarājayya.

In general, the commander-in-chief was directly subordinate to the king and had to carry out the latter's behests to the strict letter. He was not only in charge of the army but wielded considerable influence over general administration as the king's right-hand man. The ambition of the commander-in-chief to be foremost in the administration sometimes led him to plot against the king and was the cause of his dismissal. Thus Beṭṭada Arasu's intrigues to kill Chāmarāja Waḍeyar, grandson of Rāja Waḍeyar, resulted in the loss of his eyes and confinement. Daḷavoy Vikrama Rāya lost his office under similar circumstances during the reign of Immaḍi Rāja Waḍeyar. Old age, inefficiency and disloyalty also involved loss of office, as in the cases of Daḷavoys Timmappa, Hamparājayya and Dāsarājayya in Kanṭhīrava's reign. In Devarāja's reign, Hamparājayya, who had been reinstated, was removed from service as he had defrauded the state revenues (1661). The short tenure of office varying generally from three to five years was, however, an effective check on corruption and misrule.[20]

[20] *Vide* f.n. 18, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 81-82, 114, 133, etc.

There were often close relations between the Royal Family and the Daḷavoy Family. Thus Dāsarājayya, one of the Daḷavoys of Kanṭhīrava, was the latter's father-in-law. Nanjarājayya and Lingarājayya of Hura, the famous Daḷavoys of Kanṭhīrava, were related to him on his mother's side.[21] Really capable Daḷavoys like them stood the king in good stead and worked heart and soul to bring name and fame to their master. In fine, but for the Daḷavoy it would have been impossible for Mysore to attain political greatness, however capable the rulers might have been themselves. Sometimes, the Crown Prince was chosen as a general to provide him opportunities of military practice, as in the case of Chikkadevarāja in Devarāja's reign.

The Daḷavoys were often allowed to make grants independently of the King. Thus Chāmappa, Daḷavoy of Chāmarāja Waḍeyar, made a grant[22] for the merit of the latter on a lunar eclipse in 1620. In 1654 we have a grant[23] of lands to God Nrisimha by Daḷavoy Lingarājayya, son of Mādhava Nāyaka, Lord of Hura, during the reign of Kanṭhīrava I. Sometimes, the consent of the Daḷavoy was obtained by the King in making grants, as in the case of erection of a maṭha in Kaḷale and the grant of two villages by Devājamma during the reign of Devarāja Waḍeyar, and in the case of a charity by the same donor.[24] It is specifically stated in these records that Daḷavoy Nanjanāthayya consented to these grants. These instances clearly indicate the close co-operation between the King and the Daḷavoy in the civil government of the country.

Under the successors of Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar, the commander-in-chief gradually became independent even as the councillors, on account of the weakness of the Kings. Ultimately, he became the foremost arbiter in the destiny of the kingdom. Daḷavoy Devarājayya and Karāchūri

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21 *K. N. Vijayam*, Ch. 3, v. 13 and Ch. 4, vv. 76-77.
22 *E. C.*, III (i) SR. 36.
23 *E. C.*, IV (ii) Hg. 49.
24 *E. C.*, III (i) Nj. 81 and 56 (1662).

Nanjarājayya are instances in point. They played a prominent part not only in the conquests and annexations but also in the administration of the country thoroughly eclipsing the influence of the King.

The Army and Ethics of Warfare.—In a kingdom like Mysore surrounded by hostile neighbours, self-preservation was, as we have seen, the key-note of progress. The idea of struggle and survival of the fittest in the complex political conditions of the century following the battle of Tāḷikoṭa, is nowhere so well borne out as in the case of Mysore. The key to the success of Mysore is to be sought in the organization and maintenance of the army.[25]

At first, apart from a few warriors, elephants and horses in the personal service of the King, there does not appear to have existed a regular standing army. In times of emergency the Chief relied on the quota of forces sent by the allied paḷḷegars (as for instance, those of Kaḷale, Biḷugali, Biḷikere, Hura, Hullahaḷḷi, Mūgūr and other places). A special feature of the army thus recruited was that it was trained and commanded by experienced haḷe-paika nāyakas (a type of commanders of the *haḷe-paika* community) under the guidance of the Chief. The system of militia was also in vogue and was of much use to Rāja Waḍeyar and his brothers not only during the siege of Kesare by Tirumala, but also in the conquest of Seringapatam in 1610.

A regular standing army with a commander-in-chief (Daḷavoy) was brought into being by Rāja Waḍeyar after 1610, as already pointed out. This army under him and his successors usually consisted of infantry, cavalry, elephants and camels, and was composed of heterogeneous elements since it was to a great extent supplemented by the quota of forces contributed by the subdued paḷḷegars and the heads of local administrative units (*Maṇḍalikas and Nāyakas*).[26] We

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[25] *Vide Exts. from C. Vamśāvaḷi and K. N. Vijayam* (pp. 16-17; 38-46) (Ch. 3) for the earliest references to military matters.

[26] *Vide* the writer's article on *Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar* (Sec. 1), in the *Mys. Uni. Jour.*, III (2); also *K. N. Vijayam*, Ch. 25 (for the names).

have reference[27] to the existence in Seringapatam of horse stables (containing horses captured from the hostile chiefs of Madura, Belur and Narasimhapura), elephant stables (with elephants captured from the Nāyaka of Madura, the Changalva, the Telugu chieftains, and those sent as tribute by the chiefs of Koḍagu, Konkaṇa, Kongu and Maleyāḷa) and streets wherein resided drummers, trumpeters, buglers, torch-bearers, expert mahouts, camel riders, foot soldiers (infantry) and horsemen (cavalry), during the reign of Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar I. The hale-paika warriors, an important military class from Rāja Waḍeyar's time, constituted an element in Kanṭhīrava's army, and so too the spies and news-carriers (*Chāraru*, *Bēhinavaru*).[28] Their service in times of war was remarkable.

The army thus organized continued down to the middle of the eighteenth century playing an important part in preserving the political independence and integrity of the kingdom of Mysore. Its exact numerical strength under the different rulers is not known but enough data is at hand to prove its efficiency and varying degrees of success in the wars of the period. In the middle of the reign of Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar II, the Mysore army gained a reputation by coming into contact with the English army under Lawrence and Clive during the Carnatic War of succession (1750-52).[29] By 1758, the army became the most important factor in the government of Mysore, being ultimately used by Hyder Ali for the subversion of the old regime (1761). There is reference to the enlistment of Europeans (*parangis*) and Kāfirs in the Mysore army, in a record[30] of 1758, testifying to the wider outlook of the military and its adaptability to the changing conditions of the times in India.

Details as to the conditions of recruitment, pay and prospects of the forces under the rulers are lacking, though,

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[27] *K. N. Vijayam*, Ch. 6, vv. 25-31 ; Ch. 7, vv. 57-60. Chariots, the use of which appears to have been rare, are referred to in a record of 1685 (*E.C.* III (1) ML. 61).

[28] *Vide* f.n. 26, *supra*.

[29] Malleson, *Clive*, pp. 54-68.

[30] *E.C.*, IV (2) Nj. 267.

as is natural to expect, the Daḷavoy was held responsible to the King in these matters. It is possible that the details were left to the local heads for being worked out and the commander-in-chief exercised a check or control over them. In the sixties of the eighteenth century we have reference[31] to the assignment of districts to the commander-in-chief to meet military expenditure out of their revenues. Of the heads of expenditure specified, the following were the most important: adjustments (*tiddu*), final settlements (*tīrpu*), maintenance of the trooper's list (*lāvaṇa*) and pay of horses and men.

In the earlier period under Rāja Waḍeyar and his successors the system of fighting with swords, arrows, lances and sharp knives was much in vogue. Swordsmanship was an important subject of military training. Lathies were freely employed in war, especially by the local militia. Recourse was also had to the use of crackers and slings and burning oil. Convoys to the enemy's camp were frequently cut off, and 'fierce oxen carrying bundles of grass' were used to plunder their baggage.[32]

The use of guns[33] (*Śataghni*, *Pirangi*) and gunpowder (*Maddu*) was well known in Mysore as early as the forties of the seventeenth century. We have an interesting list of names[34] of guns in the time of Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar. Similarly, we have names[35] of weapons and crackers—all stored near the ramparts of the capital in readiness for war. The armoury (*Alaginachāvaḍi*, *Āyudhaśāle*) was an important

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[31] *Vide* f.n. 30.

[32] *Ibid.*, 25.

[33] *Ibid.*, *K. N. Vijayam*, Ch. 6, vv. 15-12; also *Pirangi Maṭha* (institution for storing cannons) (*vide E.C.*, V (1) CN. 160 of 1648).

[34] *Vide* 33 *supra Rāmabāṇa*, *Bhūtanātha*, *Lankeya nirdhāma dhūma*, *Hanumanta*, *Chāmuṇḍi*, *Siḍila janguli*, *Mēghanāda*, *Kōṭe kōlāhala*, *Kalivīrabhadra*, *Lūtiya Raṇa Bhairava*, *Mīṭina Ranganātha*, etc. The names are significant based as they are on the idea of invoking the mighty powers for success in war. They are also in keeping with the traditions of the country.

[35] *Ibid.*, Tridents (*Triśula*), slings (*Kavaṇe*), saws, sharp stones, springed, sharp steel weapons; *Chēḷubāṇa*, *Uripoṭṭana*, *Gunḍugal*, etc. The use of poisonous crackers was general throughout the seventeenth century wars in Mysore.

institution brought into being by Chāmarāja Waḍeyar (1617-37), and was enlarged and well equipped under Kanṭhīrava and his successors. It is said to have contained in it varieties of weapons used in warfare and particularly those captured from the enemies. Special attention was paid to the maintenance and repair of forts on efficient lines under the rulers.

A peculiar feature of warfare was the mutilation of noses of the enemies.[36] Its origin is traced to the time of Rāja Waḍeyar who early in his reign is said to have taught a lesson to the chief of Kārugahaḷḷi (a neighbouring Paḷḷegar who proceeded against him) by removing his nose and curbing his power[37]. The custom was freely made use of by the Mysore army throughout the wars of the seventeenth century. It was apparently based on a notion that in offensive and defensive warfare the opponents were to be taught a bitter experience with a view to prevent them from opposing again the Mysore army. Another important feature of warfare was[38] the use of torches tied to the horns of oxen (of the transport service) in night times to scare away the enemy in abrupt action. We have one such instance in 1697 when the Maratha auxiliaries under Jayāji Ghat and Nimbāji Ghat were repulsed with great slaughter and loss by Doḍḍayya, son of Daḷavoy Komārayya of the Mysore army.[39]

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[36] *Vide* the writer's note in his article on *Kanṭhīrava Narasa Rāja Woḍeyar* (Sec. 1), *Mys. Uni. Jour.*, III (2).

[37] Timmakavi, *Paśchimarangakshetra Māhātmya*, Introduction, v. 32 (MS. in the Mysore Oriental Library).

Rājanṛpam Kārugahaḷḷi yāṇmana niradāhavadoḷ bhangisi mūgam tavakade chammaṭike voylinim khaṇḍisidam.

Vide also: *Yādavagiri Māhātmya* (Introduction), etc., (17th Century Works) for similar statements.

It is curious that later inscriptions refer only to the curbing of the power of Kārugahaḷḷi Chief by Rāja Waḍeyar who is stated to have '*horse-whipped* him' (*vide M. A. R.*, 1911-12, pp. 56-7, Inscr., dated 1674; SR., 14 of 1686 etc.). And it is interesting to note, according to *Mysūru Rājara Charitre* by Venkaṭaramaṇayya, that the custom of mutilation of noses was followed *as a matter of policy* by the Mysore army since Rāja Waḍeyar's time (*vide* fol. 42).

[38] *Palace History*, pp. 128-132.

[39] *Ibid.*, also Wilks' *Mysore* I, pp. 95-96.

Prayers were offered for[40] success in war, which was, again, accompanied by religious ceremonies and offerings forming the occasion for public rejoicings.[41] Belief in the efficacy of dying a soldier's death on the battle field was universal.

Certain features of warfare depicted above, however repugnant to modern notions, were justified by the conditions of the times. The end justified the means and the end in view was the emergence and evolution of an independent and powerful kingdom and the maintenance of the same as a relic of the Hindu traditions of Vijayanagar. Even apart from those features, the Mysore army of the period has an abiding claim to the gratitude of posterity for its energy and whole-hearted devotion to its leader and its excellent discipline which left their mark on every action of the time and attracted the attention of contemporary powers.

Civil Officers.—The details of civil administration were carried out by officers under the control of the executive head. Under Rāja Waḍeyar, the Karaṇika[42] (revenue accountant) was an important officer and he appears to have been in charge of temple administration also. The treasury (*Kōśa, Bokkasa*) was acquired by Rāja Waḍeyar from Tirumala and its existence in Seringapatam is further borne out by a record of 1623.[43] A similar official appears to have been in charge of it. Tax collectors for the collection of land revenue and other dues under the Paḷḷegar system, and accountants for keeping regular accounts were appointed under Rāja Waḍeyar and strict regulations are recorded to have been made for the peaceful administration of the country which was entrusted to thāṇādārs (officers in charge of civil and military administration of divisions), hōbaḷidārs (chiefs of armed peons in local areas), ōlekārs (letter carriers) and other officials.[44]

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40 *E. C.*, XII, Kg. 46.

41 *K. N. Vijayam*, Ch. 15; *E. C.*, III (1) Nj. 198; SR. 103, etc.

42 *Mackenzie Collections* (Inscr. of 1609), (Madras Oriental MSS. Library) MS., 18-15-20, fol. 23-24 (*vide: Source Book*, Sec. III.)

43 *E. C.*, III (1) TN. 62.

44 *Palace History*, p. 54.

Under Kanṭhīrava I we have an interesting array of officers—civil and military, serving him. The military officers were mostly chieftains of several places under the control of the King. Of the civil officers, the following were the most important.[45] Linge Gowḍa, the Mayor of Seringapatam (*Paṭṭaṇada adhikāri*), Basaviah, the treasury officer (*Bokkasada Basaviah*), Vīraṇṇa, the head of the avasarada hōbli department (dealing with urgent calls of the Palace), Venkaṭappa Jeṭṭi, the officer in charge of ornaments (*Ābharaṇa*), Lappavarasa, the King's accountant or financier (*Rājya lekka baredōduva Lappavarasa*), Narasimha Upādhyāya, the expert scribe (*Rāyasa jāṇa*). Besides the Karaṇika and the councillors there was an officer in charge of the mint also, since Kanṭhīrava was the first to establish it in his capital, in proof of his independence. Under Chikkadevarāja, Aṇṇiah, son of Javana Seṭṭi, a Jaina, was the officer in charge of the mint and treasury. It is said that he performed his duties conscientiously and was favoured by his master being allowed to construct a pond in Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa. He remained in office as late as the reign of Krishṇarāja I and is said to have worked well for him and attained glory. He too like Viśālāksha Pandit took much interest in the advancement of his religion.[46]

The officers were directly responsible to the King and their position and importance increased with the reforms introduced by Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar in the administration of Mysore.

Local Government.—The most important centre of local government was the gaḍi (corresponding to a modern Taluk), the village being a unit thereof. Each gaḍi was at first in charge of a chieftain or Paḷḷegar who was the military and civil head of the division responsible to the central government.

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45 *K. N. Vijayam*, Ch. 25, vv. 56, 74, 76, 77, 82 and 85.

46 *Beḷagoḷada Gommatēsvara Charitre, op. cit.* ..*Aṇṇiah jinapadabhakta tenkasāle* ..*ādhipatyava* ..*Chikkadevarāyana bokkasagaḷanu* | *āyāsagoḷade tumbisi avanoḷagatipriyamānasanāgiralu*..*beḷagoḷadim*..*eradu giriya madhyadi kalyāṇiya virachisi*..

He had to pay tribute, attend the King's durbar and help him with his quota of men and horse in times of war.[47] Later the Subādār, Thāṇādār, Gurikārs, Senabhovas and Gauḍas were appointed and distributed over the local units, being made responsible for collection of taxes and preservation of local peace. These officials were subject to the control of the central government through the head of the Gaḍi. A record[48] of 1677 relates to the re-instatement in office of a shānubhog by name Venkaṭapathiah, son of Baira Hebbāruva after an enquiry into an allegation made against him by his enemy. The order is conveyed to him through Hampayya, the head of the Gaḍi of Arakalgud. The importance of local officers and their duties underwent changes under the reforms introduced by Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar.

In important places in the interior of the country and in newly acquired tracts or in frontier posts, the administration was entrusted to an agent (*kārya-karta*), responsible to the central government. Thus under Chāmarāja Waḍeyar, Basava Lingaṇṇa,[49] son of Kempa Waḍeyar, was agent for the King's affairs at Talkāḍ. Doḍḍayya, lord of Kānikāranahaḷḷi (Kankanhalli) was an agent[50] of Kanṭhīrava I, at Channarāyapaṭṭaṇa. Koṭṭūrayya[51] was his agent at Sāligrāma. Under Chikkadevarāja, Siddarājayya of Talkad was the King's agent in Kuṇigal[52], and there is reference in an inscription to the construction by him of a large gate named 'Mysore Gate' (1674). In Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar II's reign we have

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47 *Vide*, f.n. 44 *supra*. The *subādār* was the civil and military head of the local unit of a *Gaḍi*. The *Thāṇādār* was his subordinate. *Gurikārs* were headmen of local establishment of armed retainers. *Senabhovas* were village accountants (*cf.* Shānubhog). *Gauḍas* were heads of villages. The import of the first two official designations (*Subādār* and *Thāṇādār*) appears to have taken place in the time of Kanṭhirava I, who first came into contact with the Muhammadans of Bijapur and the Marathas in their service (1638-59).

48 *E.C.*, V (1), Ag. 2.

49 *E.C.*, III (1), TN. 13 of 1633.

50 *E.C.*, V (1), CN. 160 of 1648.

51 *E.C.*, V (1), CN. 185 of 1650.

52 *E.C.*, XII, KG. 7 of 1674.

another instance. Rāmappa was the agent[53] for the affairs of the King in Kaṇimbala (in Bowringpet hobli). It is interesting to note that he made a grant independently 'with a request to future kings for the maintenance' of the same. We may also note that Hyder Ali himself was an important agent[54] of Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar II, from 1758 onwards, and retained the title (*Kārya karta*) even [55]after his assumption of supremacy over the administration of Mysore.

Administrative Measures.—The Paḷḷegar system was the distinct feature of administration in Mysore under Rāja Waḍeyar and his successors down to Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar since conquest and annexation of territories formed the main activities of the rulers. As *de facto* Viceroys (*Kārya karta*) of Seringapatam they followed the Vijayanagar traditions with modifications to suit the needs of a growing kingdom. Rāja Waḍeyar reorganized the system of administration by appointing new officers and laying down rules and regulations for the collection of taxes and for the peaceful administration of the country, as already referred to. His successor Chāmarāja Waḍeyar went a step further in carefully grouping villages under the respective hoblis (sub-divisions) of the gaḍi. Kanṭhīrava I settled the land revenue in the territories annexed by him from the Paḷḷegars, according to the status and condition of each territory or locality; and appointed officers to safeguard local interests and facilitate the remittance of revenue collections from the country parts to the central exchequer at Seringapatam. He also paid particular attention to the organization of the treasury and the maintenance of correct accounts of finance.[56] He reorganized the currency, being the first to establish an independent mint and strike coins (*Kanṭhirāya haṇams*) in 1645.[57]

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[53] *M.A.R.* 1925, p. 64 (Record of 1741).

[54] *E.C.*, IV (2), Nj. p. 267.

[55] *M.A.R.*, 1924, pp. 56-57 (1764); 1921, pp. 57-58 (1764).

[56] *Palace History*, pp. 54, 70-72, 102-103.

[57] *Mackenzie Collections*, Madras Oriental MSS. Library, (*kaḍitam*) MS. 18, 15-20, ff. 36-37 (*Vide*, *Source Book*, Sec. III).

Devarāja continued the previous system with slight modifications. He studied thoroughly the character and conduct of the Pallegars and regulated his relations with them. To some he gave jahagirs (rent-free lands), to others joḍi (Inam lands with quit-rent) villages, and from others he arranged to get tribute regularly.[58] An important feature of his reign was that there was already contact with some elements of the Maratha polity prevailing in the conquered tracts. Thus the reference[59] among others to Sunka Kārukonas (Octroi clerks), rāvutas (troopers) and rāṇuves (armed force looking after civil establishment) as being required to make contributions to the treasury of the gaḍi of Kāṇikāranahaḷḷi (Kankanhalli) for the service of the God of Moḷagāla, is significant indicating as it does the tendency towards the absorption of the foreign elements of polity in the indigenous system.

The administrative measures for which Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar has been so famous were the outcome of the following circumstances: the complete severance of the Vijayanagar yoke by the Mysore Royal House towards the close of Devarāja's reign; the conquest and settlement of most of the local Pallegars; the favourable atmosphere in the country at the time of Chikkadevarāja's accession; and the increasing contact of Mysore with the Marathas, the Deccani Muhammadans and the Moghuls.[60] The old system of administration which was devised to hold at bay the turbulent Pallegars required thorough overhauling and re-adjustment to meet the problems arising out of the complex conditions of the times. Accordingly, the first fourteen years of Chikkadevarāja's reign were devoted to the establishment of the administrative system on a sound basis.

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[58] *Vide*: f.n. 56, *supra*, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

[59] *E.C.*, IX. KN., 94 of 1662.

[60] *Vide* the writer's article *Chikkadevarāja and his successors* in the *Q.J.M.S.*, XXIII (July 1932) (1), pp. 26-27.

[61] The first important step taken by Chikkadevarāja was the grouping together of all the territories conquered and annexed by the rulers of Mysore since Rāja Waḍeyar's time and the splitting up of the State into 84 administrative divisions after granting jahagirs to some persons and settling the tribute paid by others and absorbing the smaller administrative units in bigger ones. The administration of each division (*gaḍi*) was organized as follows: [62] A subādār, one manager, three aṭṭavaṇe (revenue accountants) officials, one scribe (*rāyasadavanu*), one post man (*anchekāra*) whose business was to despatch letters and write about news, formed the chief administrative officers; and under them were placed petty officials such as daffedār (head peon), menials, mace-bearer (*taḷavār)*, golla (treasurer's assistant), chāvaḍi guards, and torch-bearer—their number varying according to the status of each division. The kandāchār officials (native militia), such as ṭhāṇādār (military assistant to the subādār), gurikār (head of armed peons), śirastadār (head of the divisional establishment), clerks (*gumastas*), hōblidār, ōlekār, bugler and drummer were also appointed to arrange for the regular patrol of localities, to maintain law and order and minimise crime. Their number varied according to localities. The ōlekars, daffedars and hōblidārs were required to be ready with arms and ammunition to meet exigencies of public service. Thus was organized a sort of local militia, useful alike in times of peace and war, analogous to that of the Moghul and Maratha systems.

A special subādār was appointed to be in charge of demesne (royal estates) lands. It was his duty to look after the produce of those lands. Under him was maintained an

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[61] The account is based on extracts from *Palace History* (pp. 133-152; 164-170), supplemented by original sources.

[62] Also called *Amildār* (Civil and Military Officer at first); *Subādār*, a Canarese form of *Subhādār* of the Moghul Polity. With the acquisition of Maratha possessions in the north by Hyder in 1758, the head of the *gaḍi* was designated *Amildār* in those parts, in keeping with the local practice. However, both the terms *Subādār* and *Amildār* existed side by side in Mysore. (*Palace History*, pp. 205-20.)

accounts establishment consisting of śirastadār, clerks, killedār and ṭhāṇādār drawn mainly from the kandāchār service. Intelligence, honesty and efficiency were the criteria of appointments. The pay of the higher officials (like subādār, killedār, etc.) was fixed in proportion to the relative responsibilities of the appointments, half being paid in cash and the other half in kind. The subordinate officials (ōlekārs, etc.) were paid at rates varying from half-varaha and one haṇa to one varaha per month, half in cash and half in kind being met out of the produce of lands granted to them. To make service attractive, all the officials were exempt from taxes, such as, kāṇike (presents), kaḍḍāya (compulsory dues) and manederige (house tax).[63]

Special attention was bestowed on the maintenance of law and order. A regular system of espionage was established. Arrangements were made for the report of the character and conduct of people in several parts of the country and for the prompt communication of occurrences in the interior of the country. In the different localities and headquarters of the gaḍis, a kotwal (local police officer), shānubhogs (their number varying according to the nature of the locality), menials, [64]peṭe seṭṭi, yajamān, chalavāḍi, drummer, bugler and detectives (*chāraru*) were entrusted with important duties. They were required to see that the different classes of people in the localities such as, Baṇajigas, Vaiśyas, Pānchāḷas and others did not transgress their caste rules and regulations, involving breach of public peace. They had to prevent theft in streets, to see that the merchants from different parts of the country carried on their transactions according to rules and regulations of government and to bring the offenders to book. During night the kotwal, spies, buglers and drummers

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[63] *Cf.* Inscriptions of Chikkadevarāja's reign, referring to the items of taxes (*M.A.R.*, 1911-12, pp. 56-57, 1922; pp. 122-123), etc.

[64] The reference to *peṭe seṭṭi* (a prominent citizen merchant) and *yajamān* (a communal head) is significant. It indicates the inclusion of non-official elements in town administration, corresponding more or less to modern municipal organization.

had to patrol the streets regularly and prevent commission of crimes. It was further laid down that the kotwal, peṭe seṭṭi and yajamān should inquire into cases and fine those whose guilt was comparatively trifling, and that as regards serious offences the offenders should be sent to the King who was to inflict punishment on them. The King was thus the supreme authority in executive, legislative and judicial matters and his autocracy was tempered by regard for corporate life in towns under his control.

The economic system[65] of the country was reorganized to suit the needs of the growing kingdom, and the reforms bore the impress of the King's personality in every practical detail.

Further developments in the administrative machinery are said to have been brought about by Chikkadevarāja in 1700 shortly after the return of his famous embassy to the Court of Aurangzeb. It is said that these developments were based on the existing Moghul practice and procedure of the time. There is, however, enough data to hold that they were modifications of the old system tempered by the Rāja's desire to make the system more definite, up-to-date and lasting. The following eighteen departments (*chāvaḍi*) were the result of this reforming tendency:—

(1) Nirūpada chāvaḍi: department dealing with petitions from the public and official orders and reports; (2) Āyakaṭṭina chāvaḍi: department of finance dealing with the maintenance of civil, military and palace budgets, and treasury accounts; (3) Mysore Hōbaḷi Vichārada chāvaḍi: enquiry department with jurisdiction over districts south of the Kāveri; (4) Paṭṭaṇa Hōbaḷi Vichārada chāvaḍi: enquiry department with jurisdiction over districts north of the Kāveri; (5) Sīmekandāchāra chāvaḍi: department maintaining accounts relating to local executive staff of the administration, and to arms, ammunitions and stores of the divisional units; (6) Bāgila Kandāchāra chāvaḍi: department dealing with accounts relating to Huzur officials, and Paḷḷegars; (7) Sunkada chāvaḍi: customs

[65] *Vide* Next Section of the article.

department dealing with maintenance of accounts of customs on imports and exports; (8) Pommina chāvaḍi: a special customs department dealing with collection of customs on certain specified heads, from specified classes; (9) Toḍāyada chāvaḍi: a similar department dealing with collection of customs in Seringapatam only; (10) Ashṭagrāma chāvaḍi of Paṭṭaṇa Hōbaḷi: a department having jurisdiction over eight hōbaḷis (sub-divisions of Gaḍi) under Chikkadevarājasāgara (a revenue unit); (11) Mysore Hōbaḷi Ashṭagrāma chāvaḍi: a department having jurisdiction over eight hobaḷis under the Devarāya channel (another revenue unit); (12) Beṉṉeya chāvaḍi: department dealing with palace cattle and dairy products (butter, etc.); (13) Paṭṭaṇada chāvaḍi: department dealing with the maintenance of the fort and government buildings in Seringapatam and law and order in the capital; (14) Bēhina chāvaḍi: news department dealing with transmission of news of events in local parts, conveyance of official orders, etc.; (15) Samukhada chāvaḍi: department dealing with matters going direct to the King's notice, and with the accounts relating to members of the Royal Family, palace officials, etc.; (16) Devasthānada chāvaḍi: department dealing with the maintenance and supervision of accounts of income and expenditure of temples; (17) Kabbiṇada chāvaḍi: department dealing with maintenance of accounts of iron mines, and manufacture and sale of iron implements, etc., under the direction of officers; (18) Hogesoppina chāvaḍi: department dealing with the purchase and sale of tobacco by the government.

Over each department thus organized the following officials were appointed: One chief officer, three record keepers, clerks, scribes, daffedār, menials, golla, watchman and torch-bearer. Their pay was fixed, usually half in cash and half in kind. It was further laid down that these officials should report to the King every morning the previous day's occurrences in their chāvaḍi (department). An establishment of spies was also specially maintained to keep the King informed of confidential matters of the eighteen

departments, to enable him to set right any defect or disorder. Particular care was also taken to see that bribery and corruption in service were not fostered and to ensure the honesty and efficiency of officials.

The changes described thus far reflect the mature political and administrative outlook of the ruler rather than a mere imitation of prevailing standards. The idea of eighteen departments (*aṭhārācucherry*) has its origin in Moghul practice and procedure but the details of departments as worked out by Chikkadevarāja are essentially indigenous. He thus systematized the governmental machinery, the respective elements of which had only existed in a fragmentary form before his time. It is significant to note that the system thus established by Chikkadevarāja continued unimpaired down to 1761 and even later,[66] with modifications under Tipu Sultan; and formed the basis for further developments in the nineteenth century.

(*To be continued.*)

[66] *Vide* Ch. 81, Nj. 7, YL. 63, KG. 36 and *M.A.K.*, 1924, pp. 56-57. These records invariably refer to the continuance of the institutions inaugurated by Chikkadevarājá Waḍeyar.

SRĪ VIDYĀ

Part II—Upasana

BY K. NARAYANASWAMI IYER

1. Motherhood of God.

THE motherhood of God has been fully developed in the Tantras. Every manifestation of strength, power and activity springs from Her. Devī Bhāgavata says:—

एषा भगवती देवी सर्वेषां कारणं हि नः ।
महाविद्या महामाया पूर्णा प्रकृतिरव्यया ॥

As both good and evil come from Her, She is worshipped as Vidyā (Divine Wisdom) and Avidyā (Cause of Bondage). Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa says:—

राम, माया द्विधा भाति विद्याऽविद्येति सदा ।

2. Upasana.

Upāsana is a bhāva (mental attitude) and is the vehicle through which the upāsaka is carried to higher and higher spiritual altitudes and finally attains that height where all differentiation of thought is merged in the Highest Truth, *i.e.*, Unity. It is the safest and surest way to realization as the upāsaka does not require any extraneous thing but has only to know the true nature of the Self.

Upāsana is based on two fundamental principles—first, that one becomes what one thinks and, second, that like alone can know like. It is a truism that the more one thinks of God, the more Godlike one becomes; and, likewise, the more one thinks of worldly things, the more worldly one becomes. Equally true it is that a person can really know another only in so far as that person becomes like the other and that, therefore, he can understand the nature of God only in so far as he becomes like Him. Upāsana is, therefore, the union of the upāsaka and the upāsya.

There are three principal Schools (ācāra) of Śakti Upāsana, *viz.*, the Samaya, the Miśra and the Kaula. The tenets of the Samayas are contained in five āgamas known as

Subhagāgama Pāncaka which are regarded as interpretations of the Veda by Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumāra, Vasiṣṭha and Śuka. The Samayas ignore karma. The Miśras perform all nitya-karmas and worship Devī. Miśra literature is contained in eight āgamas, *viz.*, Chandra Kalā, Jyotsnavatī, Kalānidhi, Kulārṇava, Kuleśvarī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Bārhaspatya and Durvāsas. The Kaulas worship the Devī in all her varied forms. There are various āgamas regarding this school.

3. Adhikara.

To select a suitable upāsana for an upāsaka, one should assess properly the adhikāra (inherent and acquired competence) for it according to the caste—Brahma, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya—to which he belongs and the āśrama—Brahmachārī, Gṛhasta, Vānaprasta or Sannyāsī—in which he is. That the adhikāra is important will be seen from Lord Kṛṣṇa's dictum :—

स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः ।

For, each has his own dharma. Speaking of dharma of each caste, Śrī Kṛṣṇa says :—

ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां शूद्राणां च परंतप ।
कर्माणि प्रविभक्तानि स्वभावप्रभवैर्गुणैः ॥

It is equally necessary to know the saṁskāras—garbhādāna, puṁsavana, sīmantonnayana, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, niṣkramaṇa, annaprāśana, cūḍākaraṇa, upanayana and udvāha—which have purified the important events of his life.

4. Upasana Margas.

There are five paths of upāsana—Karma, Bhakti, Jñāna, Yoga and Miśra mārgas. Each leads to the same goal, *i.e.* the Identity of the Individual Self with the Supreme Self through Niṣkāmya Karma, Avyabhicārī Bhakti, Sōham Jñāna, Yogic Samādhi and Jñāna-cum-Yoga respectively. As Śrī Kṛṣṇa says, in his Immortal Gīta, all paths lead to Him :—

ये यथा मां प्रपद्यन्ते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम् ।
मम वर्त्मानुवर्तन्ते मनुष्याः पार्थ सर्वशः ॥

(*a*) KARMA MARGA.—The world is bound by actions other than those done for sacrifice. Therefore, a sādhaka is asked to do all acts free from attachment. Says Lord Kṛṣṇa:

यज्ञार्थात् कर्मणोऽन्यत्र लोकोऽयं कर्मबंधनः ।
तदर्थं कर्म कौन्तेय मुक्तसंगस्समाचर ॥

(*i*) *The Daily Routine of a Sādhaka.*—In common with the Vaidiks, the Śākta has a long round of daily routine. He awakens in brahma-muhūrta and makes salutation to his guru reciting appropriate mantras. On touching ground after leaving the bed, he salutes the Earth as a manifestation of God. He then cleanses his teeth and bathes to the accompaniment of mantras and makes tarpaṇa (oblations of water) to Devās, Ṛṣis and Pitṛs. After doing Sandhyā and meditating on Gāyatrī Devī, he does Agnihotra and then Pūja. Thereupon, he attends to his work. After return, he bathes, does mid-day Sandhyā, performs Panca-mahā-yajña and Vaiśvadeva as also study of the Vedas. He then takes his meal after which he reads Purāṇas, Itihāsas and Dharma Śāstras thereby avoiding idle talk and discussion. He then attends to his work and returns, in the evening, to do Sandhyā and Agnihotra. Afterwards, he takes his meal and rests.

(*ii*) *Nitya Karmas.*—In addition to Sandhyāvandana, Gāyatri Japam and Pūja, the Sādhaka has to perform, daily, the Panca-mahā-yajña—sacrifices to Brahma, Devas, Pitṛs, Bhūtas and Manuṣyas—and thereby repay the five-fold ṛṇa (debt) to nature—for initial energy received from parents; for food; for sympathy and help from fellow-beings; for magnetic tendencies and for knowledge and illumination. By these, he is made to regard himself as part of a connected whole whose parts are interdependent each aiding and supporting the other. Teaching is Brahma-Yajña; Tarpaṇa is Pitṛ Yajña; Homa is Deva Yajña; Bali is Bhūta Yajña and Hospitality to Guests is Manuṣya Yajña. It is said:

अध्यापनं ब्रह्मयज्ञः पितृयज्ञस्तु तर्पणम् ।
होमो दैवो बलिर्भौतो नृयज्ञोऽतिथिपूजनम् ॥

Agnihotra is a Havir Yajña and is offered both morning and evening.

(*iii*) *Naimittika Karmas.*—Of the fourteen śrauta yajñas all but one, *viz.*, Agnihotra, are naimittika (occasional). Seven of them are havir-yajñas and seven others are soma yajñas. The havir-yajñas (except Agnihotra explained *supra*) are offered as follows:—Darśa and Pūrṇimāsa at the end of each fortnight; Āgrayaṇa, when grain is newly got and before it is used; Cāturmāsya at the end of the three seasons and Nirūḍha-paśubandha at the solstices. At the seven soma sacrifices, *viz.*, Agniṣṭoma, Atyagniṣṭoma, Ukthi, Ṣodaśī, Vājapeya, Atirātra and Āptoryama, the Brahmins officiate as priests and the person on whose behalf the sacrifices are offered is called yajamāna. Husband and wife light three sacred fires:—Āhavanīya to the East, for offering to Devas; Dakṣiṇa to the South, for offering to Pitṛs and Gārhapatya to the West, household fire. These are not allowed to go out. All śrauta sacrifices are offered in these and are in the form of milk, ghee and grains of various kinds.

There is another class of yajñas called pāka-yajñas which are offered in Vaivāhika fire, *viz.*, Pitṛ-śrāddham, Parvaṇa-śrāddham, Aṣṭakā, Śrāvaṇī, Aśvayujī, Āgrahāyaṇī and Caitrī. Of these, the first two are ceremonies in honour of the Pitṛs.

(*iv*) *Vratas.*—Under the naimittika category come the vratas which are voluntary devotional rites performed at specified times in honour of particular devatās, such as, Durgā Pūja, Kṛṣṇa's Birthday, etc. Each vrata has its own peculiarities but there are certain features common to all—continence, fasting, bathing and taking pure food.

(*v*) *Tapas.*—These form a variety of vratas and are threefold—Śārīraka (bodily), Vācikā (by speech) and Mānasa (by mind). Lord Kṛṣṇa explains them thus :—

देवद्विजगुरुप्राज्ञपूजनं शौचमार्जवम् ।

ब्रह्मचर्यमहिंसा च शारीरं तप उच्यते ॥

अनुद्वेगकरं वाक्यं सत्यं प्रियहितं च यत् ।

स्वाध्यायाभ्यसनं चैव वाङ्मयं तप उच्यते ॥

मनः प्रसादः सौम्यत्वं सत्यमात्मविनिग्रहः ।
भाव संशुद्धिरित्येतत् तपो मानसमुच्यते ॥

Each of these three classes of tapas has three divisions—sātvic, rājasic and tāmasic—according as it is done (1) with faith and without regard to its fruit; (2) for fruit or out of pride or for gaining honour, respect or power to the doer; (3) through ignorance or with a view to injure or destroy others (abhicāra). Śrī Kṛṣṇa says in the Gītā:—

श्रद्धया परया तप्तं तपस्तत् त्रिविधं नरैः ।
अफला कांक्षिभिर्युक्तैः सात्त्विकं परिचक्षते ॥
सत्कार मानपूजार्थं तपो दंभेन चैव यत् ।
क्रियते तदिहप्रोक्तम् राजसं चलमध्रुवम् ॥
मूढग्राहेणात्मनो यत्पीडया क्रियते तपः ।
परस्योत्सादनार्थं वा तत् तामस मुदाहृतम् ॥

The karma or ācāra mārga is said to be quite necessary to obtain siddhi (perfection). Vasiṣṭha Smṛti says:—

आचारहीनं न पुनन्ति वेदाः ।

(*b*) BHAKTI MARGA.—As Bhagavān Śrī Kṛṣṇa says in the Gītā, God takes care of those who seek refuge in Him:—

सर्वधर्मान्परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज ।
अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि माशुचः ॥

Three kinds of sādhana are prescribed—the svarūpa upāsana, the sampad upāsana and the pratīka upāsana—according to the adhikāra (competence) of the upāsaka.

(*i*) *Svarūpa Upāsana.*—This is the divya or sātvic bhāva which prescribes practices of truth, forgiveness, compassion and contentment. The upāsakas of this bhāva have to avoid all objects of temptation. Discrimination and renunciation are the twin helpmates in this.

(*ii*) *Sampad Upāsana.*—Those who are not endowed with sufficient serenity of mind choose, necessarily, the path which is vīra or rājasic bhāva. In this, devotion supersedes the cravings of the senses and the devotee meditates upon God unshaken by the jarring elements of the world in which he

is obliged to live. This class of sādhakas use symbols of the Deity in so far as they resemble and reflect the divine qualities. The Ṛṣis, finding certain resemblance to correspondence between Brahman, *i.e.*, Highest Truth and the Sun, Mind, Vital Breath, etc., in respect of luminosity, motion-sustaining power, etc., have prescribed meditation upon these perceptible objects as a means to realize the Imperceptible. The apotheosis of the Incarnation and of the Guru can also be understood from this standpoint.

(*iii*) *Pratīka Upāsana.*—This is the paśu or tāmasic bhāva prescribed for the lowest class of sādhakas. These have to avoid objects of temptation and, superimposing upon a thing such as a kalaśa or śila the attributes of God, worship them though there may be no resemblance whatsoever between them. Pratīkōpāsana is based on the principle that the whole Cosmos is Brahman (अणोरणीयान् महतो महीयान्) and so any part (vyaṣṭi) of the whole (samaṣṭi) being but His part is fit for worship. The pratimā or image is but a kind of pratīka. The conception of images came originally from the siddhas who had realized Brahman and seen His divine forms in meditation. They gave out these secrets for the benefit of the sādhakas and they were embodied in external images to make them visible to the eye. Even a word used for God is an idol or pratīka as it is perceived by the ear, another sense-organ. An idea, likewise, is an idol being perceived by the mind.

But even the ordinary meaning—not to speak of the esoteric one—of the mantras will show that the worship is not to the material emblem wherein the Divinity is conceived but to the Divinity Itself. This is beautifully brought out by sage Vyāsa in the following :—

रूपं रूपविवर्जितस्य भवतो ध्यानेन यत् कल्पितम् ।
स्तुत्यानिर्वचनीयताखिलगुरोः दूरीकृता यन्मया ॥
व्यापित्वं च निराकृतं भगवतो यत्तीर्थयात्रादिना ।
क्षन्तव्यं जगदीश तद्विकलता दोषत्रयं मत् कृतम् ॥

In fact, the sādhaka converts every act of his into worship as all disinterested works are acts of worship. Śrī Śaṅkarācārya admirably expresses this in the following hymn :—

जपो जल्पः शिल्पं सकलमपि मुद्रा विरचना ।
गतिः प्रादक्षिण्यक्रमणं अशनाद्याहुतिविधिः ॥
प्रणामः संवेशः सुखमखिलमात्मार्पणदृशा ।
सपर्यापर्यायः तव भवतु यन्मे विलसितम् ॥

(c) JNANA MARGA.—It is said that there is nothing as holy as Jñāna (न हि ज्ञानेन सदृशं पवित्रमिह विद्यते). According to the Tantras, each act of worship necessitates some sort of meditation on the unity of the aspirant with God. In fact, Tāntrism is the sādhana or practical counterpart of the Advaitism or Monism and Śrī Śaṅkarācārya himself is a great Tāntrist. A Śākta begins his day by meditating "I am the Creative Power. I am the Male Principle who is beyond grief. I am Existence, Knowledge, Bliss, Absolute, the One who is eternally free." At noon, the upāsaka mentally raises, during Japa, the Kuṇḍalinī (identified with Jīvātma) to the Sahasrāra where he unites it with Paramātma. While at worship and performing Bhūta śuddhi or dissolution of categories, he merges his individuality and becomes one with the Absolute by declaring "I am She" (साऽहं) a counterpart of the Upaniṣadic "I am He" (सोऽहं). In the evening, after doing the day's performances, he again realizes his oneness with the Absolute. By losing his limited individuality in Reality (आत्मानं भगवतीं भावयेत्), the upāsaka is enabled to transcend the barrier between the Highest Personal Aspect (सगुणब्रह्म) and the Absolute Impersonal Aspect (निर्गुणब्रह्म) through the three modes of hearing about God (श्रवण), understanding what he has heard (मनन) and meditating upon what he has understood (निदिध्यासन).

Thus, the sādhaka casts off the veil of Avidyā from self and attains Ātma-Svarūpa (ब्रह्मविद् ब्रह्मैव भवति).

This knowledge of "I am Brahman" (अहं ब्रह्मास्मि) does not produce mōkṣa but is mōkṣa itself. The siddha enters

into Brahman like the stream into the ocean and leaves behind him nāma and rūpa. It is, therefore, said :—

यथा नद्यः समुद्रे अस्तंगच्छन्ति नामरूपे विहाय ।
तथा विद्वान् नामरूपाद्विमुक्तः परात्परं पुरुषमुपैति दिव्यम् ॥

(*d*) YOGA-MARGA.—Yoga is the process by which the union of Jīvātma and Paramātma is realized (जीवात्मनोरनन्यत्वं अभेदेन प्रशस्यते—Māṇḍūkyopaniṣat). There are different kinds of yoga—the Aṣṭānga yoga ; Haṭha yoga ; Laya yoga and Mantra yoga.

(*i*) *Aṣṭānga Yoga*.—The mind (चित्त) always exists in the form of its states (वृत्ति) and their suppression (निरोध) is the means of attaining final release (योगः). Therefore, Patañjali says :—

योगश्चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधः.

Chitta has five states—Kṣipa, Mūḍha, Vikṣipa, Ēkāgra and Samādhī. Kṣipa, being due to action and of rajo-guṇa, is a restless state in which mind roams in all directions. It is antagonistic to yoga and, therefore, to upāsana.

Mūḍha is of tamo-guṇa in which state wicked acts prompted by lust and anger appear right in the mind.

Vikṣipa, though of satva-guṇa, is equally unsuited to yoga since in it the mind inclines towards delights of the Heaven and other pure forms of enjoyment.

Ēkāgra is the best suited for yoga and upāsana, as in it the mind is withdrawn from all other objects than the one in which it is centred.

Samādhī comes of itself when mind is made Ēkāgra, leaves hold of external objects and becomes dissolved in Supreme Brahman.

The Samādhi state of mind is said to be its prakāśa aspect and the other states constitute its vimarśa aspect. When mind perceives external objects, it is in vimarśa or savikalpa state and when there arises vicāra in it, it is in prakāśa or nirvikalpa state. Mind is equally the cause of bondage and liberation according as it is in savikalpa or nirvikalpa condition. Amṛtabindu Upaniṣat says :—

मनो हि द्विविधं प्रोक्तं शुद्धं चाशुद्धमेव च ।
अशुद्धं कामसंकल्पं शुद्धं कामविवर्जितम् ॥

Patañjali prescribes eight means of attaining Yoga, *viz.*, Restraint (यम), Observances (नियम), Posture (आसन), Regulation of Breath (प्राणायाम), Abstraction (प्रत्याहार), Concentration (धारण), Meditation (ध्यान) and Trance (समाधि).

Yama comprises abstinence from injury, veracity, abstinence from theft, continence and abstinence from avariciousness.

Niyama includes cleanliness, contentment, purificatory action, study and making God motive of all action.

Āsana constitutes posture and easy position.

Prāṇāyāma is the regulation of breath, that is, the stoppage of inspiratory and expiratory movements of breath which may be practised when steadiness of posture has been secured.

Pratyāhāra is that by which the senses do not come in contact with their objects and follow, as it were, the nature of the mind.

Dhāraṇa is the steadfastness of the mind.

Dhyāna is the continuation of the mental effort.

Samādhi is got when shining with the light of the object alone and is devoid, as it were, of itself.

(*ii*) *Other kinds of Yoga.*—The same goal is reached by the other yogas also. But the means adopted differ with different yogas. In the Mantra Yoga, mantras and śabda are used; in Haṭha Yoga in addition to prāṇāyāma and āsana, bandhas and mudras are made use of; and in Laya Yoga, the dissolution of the categories (तत्त्व) is adopted. Stoppage of cittavritti is mōkṣa, while the contrary is saṁsāra. Yoga-śikhopaniṣat says :—

चित्ते चलति संसारो निश्चलं मोक्ष उच्यते ॥

As Kaṭhopaniṣat beautifully puts it, the mind is the reins with which the driver (buddhi) pulls in and controls the horses (senses) and prevents their bolting away with the

car (body) and the owner (Jīvātma) in it. The intelligent driver takes the Jīvātma to the Highest Abode.

आत्मानं रथिनं विद्धि शरीरं रथमेव च ।
बुद्धिं तु सारथिं विद्धि मनः प्रग्रहमेव च ॥
इन्द्रियाणि हयानाहुः विषयांस्तेषु गोचरान् ।
आत्मेन्द्रियमनोयुक्तं भोक्तेत्याहुः मनीषिणः ॥
यस्तु अविज्ञानवान् भवति अयुक्तेन मनसा सदा ।
तस्येन्द्रियाणि अवश्यानि दुष्टाश्वा इव सारथेः ॥
यस्तु विज्ञानवान् भवति युक्तेन मनसा सदा ।
तस्येन्द्रियाणि वश्यानि सदश्वा इव सारथेः ॥
विज्ञानसारथिर्यस्तु मनः प्रग्रहवान्नरः ।
सोऽध्वनः पारमाप्नोति तद्विष्णोः परमं पदम् ॥

(*e*) MISRA-MARGA.—The greatest siddhas have adopted a Miśra Upāsana which is a combination of the Jñāna and Yoga Mārgas and have, thereby, attained Mōkṣa, the *summum bonum* of all upāsanas. Regarding this type, I may quote the following :—

कामादयो विलीयन्ते ज्ञानादेव न चान्यथा ।
अभावे सत्वानां स्वयं तत्त्वं प्रकाशते ॥
योगेन योगो ज्ञातव्यो योगाद्योगः प्रवर्तते ।
योऽप्रमत्तस्तु योगेन सयोगी रमते चिरम् ॥
जन्मान्तर शताभ्यस्ता मिथ्या संसारवासना ।
सा चिराभ्यासयोगेन विना न क्षीयते क्वचित् ॥

5. Conclusion.

Perform whatever upāsana you like. If you are pure and patient and worship in the right way, you will surely see light. Upāsana will culminate in Jñāna and worship will result in Realization. You will then see that the Universe, with all its diversity, is Brahman Itself (सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म); that there is no duality but only One without second (एकमेवाद्वितीयं ब्रह्म) and that you are That (तत्त्वमसि).

This indissoluble union with Brahman may be realized in this or another life according to the quality of the upāsana.

By proper sādhana, the Jīvātma which goes through a countless series of incarnations is freed from the fetters of physical embodiment and is blessed with conscious union with God. These fetters are the five Kośas (Annamaya, Prāṇamaya, Manomaya, Vijñānamaya and Ānandamaya) which hide from the soul, in its avidyā state, its true spiritual essence. When the soul ceases to identify itself with one or another of these kośas, it gets the highest enlightenment (vidyā) and realizes its identity with Brahman.

I shall deal with some typical upāsana-karmas in the succeeding articles and illustrate the principles enunciated in these papers, and conclude this article with a well-known prayer to Devī given in the Devī Bhāgavata: –

अनन्तकोटि ब्रह्माण्ड नायिके ते नमो नमः ।
नमः कूटस्थरूपायै चिद्रूपायै नमो नमः ।
नमोवेदान्तवेद्यायै भुवनेश्वर्यै नमो नमः ॥
नेति नेतीति वाक्यैर्या बोध्यते सकलागमैः ।
तां सर्व कारणां देवीं सर्वभावेन सन्नताः ॥

MANDOOKYA UPANISHAD

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(*Continued from Vol. XXII, No. 4*)

TAITTIRIYA Upanishad describes five sheaths, which cover the Ātman like the sheath of a sword. The outer ones form the sheaths of the inner ones, that is, the sheath of Anna covers that of Prāna, this again Manas, this Vijnāna, which in turn covers the Ānanda. The Ātman, which is the innermost confers on each sheath self-hood or Ātmatva. As he makes each of these sheaths living, he is known as Jīva. This Jīva is really that same Brahman who is of the nature of Be-ness, or existence, consciousness and endlessness.

The first or karma kānda portion of the Vedas, describing the various rituals, makes a distinction between Jīva and Paramātman and also refers to creation. The rituals are karmas or actions in which there must necessarily be differences between the sacrificer, the sacrifice and the deities to whom the sacrifices are offered. Beings immersed in rituals will have to reap the reward of their actions and have no chance of final liberation. Therefore, the later portions of the Vedas, the Upanishads dealing with Jnāna, describe the identity of Jīva and Paramātman. The statement of distinction in the portion dealing with the rituals must, therefore, be treated as metaphorical and preparatory to the attainment of a higher knowledge leading to Mōksha. The Upanishads are intended for those who have passed through the preparatory stages of offering sacrifices. Therefore, being later, they are more authoritative than the earlier portions of the Vedas.

The Vedic seers clearly recognized that all people are not of the same intellectual calibre. According to their power of understanding, they classified them into three grades, inferior, middling and superior. Worship and rituals were prescribed for those whose breadth of view is either inferior or middling. Out of kindness and with the intention of leading such men

into the right path and of enabling them ultimately to reach the identity of Jīva and Brahman, the Vedas enjoined on them rituals and worship. These, however, are not necessary for those of a high order of intellect, who have come to the conclusion that Ātman is one without a second.

Dualists or rather Pluralists, such as Kapila, Kanāda, Buddha, Arhat and others, are quite certain that their own opinions have proper basis, that they only have arrived at truth, that their methods only are correct and that others are wrong. They become so enamoured of what they consider to be the truth that they come to hate those who differ from them. Being thus imbued with love and hatred, they quarrel with their opponents in defence of their own doctrines. The Vedic view of non-dual Ātman is not opposed to any of their mutually conflicting opinions and the knowledge of non-dual Ātman is the correct one, as it gives no room for feelings of love and hatred.

Advaita is the true Reality and duality, which is variety, is other than non-duality. That is, it is the effect of non-duality. Reason tells us that in the absence of any activity of the mind, as in Samādhi or enlightened reflection, swoon and in deep sleep, there is no duality. Therefore, duality is said to be the effect of non-duality, like the appearance of the snake on a rope due to superimposition.

From the point of view of reality or of unreality, to the dualist there is duality in both cases. As the dualist is under the influence of superimposition, he sees duality; while the Advaitin, being free from the influence of superimposition, realizes non-duality. Therefore, the position of an Advaitin is not in conflict with that of the dualists.

It may be thought that if duality is the effect of non-duality, it must be quite as real as non-duality. Such thinking is incorrect. Just as to one who has errors of refraction in his eyes one moon appears to be many, the really existent non-dual Brahman only appears as many and various, through wrong knowledge giving rise to superimposition. This appearance is unreal, as Ātman has no parts.

That which has parts can show variety, when its parts become differentiated. The partless, unborn Brahman nowhere, at no time and in no way whatever, can become differentiated. If differentiation were real, Brahman who by nature is 'sat' or be-ness, deathless, unborn and non-dual, would become subject to death. This will be as likely as fire changing its nature and becoming cold. Such a thing will be inconsistent with nature and against all evidence and authority. Therefore, the unborn, non-dual and real nature of Ātman is to be considered as undergoing differentiation through Māya or wrong knowledge causing superimposition and not in reality. Therefore also, duality is never real.

Some commentators on Upanishads are said to admit real birth to the Ātman who by his very nature is devoid of both birth and death. If, according to them, anything is born, it must of necessity be subject to death. How can the unborn and deathless Ātman of the very nature of Be-ness become subject to death, that is, become nothing? Death can never accrue to Ātman, it being opposed to its very nature of Be-ness.

One may note here what John Dewey says in his "The Quest for Certainty". "The realm of the practical is the region of change and change is always contingent; it has an element of chance that cannot be eliminated. If a thing changes, its alteration is convincing evidence of its lack of true or complete being. What *is*, in the full and pregnant sense of the world, is always eternal. It is self-contradictory for that which *is*, to alter. If it had no defect or imperfection in it, how could it change? That which becomes, merely *comes* to be, never truly *is*. It is infected with non-being: with privation of being in the perfect sense. The world of generation is the world of decay and destruction. Wherever one thing comes into being, something else passes out of being."

In our experience in this world, the immortal never becomes mortal and so also the mortal never becomes immortal. Just as the heat-giving property of fire never

undergoes change, a thing is never and in no way seen to give up its original nature and acquire another nature quite opposed to it.

Some may hold that before birth, Brahman is of the nature of immortality and is immutable and yet Brahman may become mortal by being born. But this assertion of the natural immortality of Brahman is futile; for, when born, he cannot remain immutable, as birth means undergoing change.

Some dualists credit the deity with the function of creating fresh souls each time that a human child is born. If this creation is out of nothing, the souls ought to end in nothing. Immortality of souls thus becomes an illusion, as everything which has an origin must come to an end. This is all the more so, when death occurs in infancy and childhood, the souls become extinct, that is, end in nothing.

To those who argue that Ātman is born, there can never be such a thing as being unborn. Everything is mortal. This means that, according to this view, there can be no liberation from Samsāra.

The Brihadāranyaka Upanishad uses the terms "not this" and "not that" in describing Ātman. In doing so, the Sruti wishes us to understand that Ātman cannot be grasped by the senses or words. It points out that all that appeals to one's intelligence, bound by the law of cause and effect, cannot really be Ātman. One may mistake the means employed for the end in view and to prevent one from wrongly understanding the means to be the substance intended to be properly understood, the scripture insists on the incomprehensibility of Ātman. But to one who understands that, the means employed are mere indications of Ātman, the Ātman remains always one and unchanging and the unborn reality of Ātman is self-luminous inside and outside, in fact everywhere. One may say that, if the reality of Ātman can never be grasped by the senses, it comes to be altogether non-existent. This, however, is not true; for, we see the effects superimposed on Ātman. When we see the hypnotic effects produced by a hypnotist, we

know that there is a real hypnotist who gives rise to them. Similarly, when we see the world spread out before us in our waking and dreaming states and disappearing in deep sleep, we are justified in saying that there must be, like the real hypnotist, a real Ātman forming a basis for the superimposition of the world. It is only on a real basis of the nature of Be-ness or existence, that the world can be superimposed, that is, be born. It is inappropriate to say that any superimposition or birth can occur without a real basis. It is also inappropriate to say that a real birth of the world occurs in Ātman. Just as a real rope may be said to give rise to a snake and other things, so the real Ātman incomprehensible to the senses may be said to give birth to the phenomenal world which is like the snake superimposed on or born of a rope. A real birth cannot be attributed to the unborn Ātman. If one holds that the unborn reality Ātman becomes evolved into the phenomenal world, he would contradict himself by saying that the unborn becomes born. Therefore, by holding such an opinion, he would be saying that what is born is born again which ends in infinite regress. If we apply the law of causation, in describing the cause of the origin of the universe, we find no trace of a cause that was not itself the result of antecedent causes. As M. Clemenceau says "All we need do is to accept phenomena, no matter at what point in the order in which they happen to present themselves." Therefore, it must be held that the Ātman Reality is One and unborn.

Vaiseshikas and Bouddhas hold that non-existence gives birth to everything, It is sufficient to show from our experience that 'nothing' cannot give rise to something either really or through Māya. For instance, a barren woman's son is not born either really or through Māya. Hence, this theory of something arising out of nothing is untenable.

Just as a superimposed snake, considered from the point of view of the rope, is of the nature of Be-ness or existence, so the mind, when considered from the point of view of Ātman

of the nature of reality or consciousness, is of the nature of Be-ness or existence. In a dream, the mind assumes the dual form of the cognizer and the cognizable through its own activity. In the waking state also, through its Māyic activity the mind assumes the appearance of duality.

From the real point of view, the mind is non-different from Ātman and gives rise to the appearance of duality in dream. This is because objects of perception, such as an elephant in a dream, and the perceiving senses, such as the eye, etc., do not both exist independent of consciousness. It is exactly the same in the waking state, as the perceiving consciousness is the same in both.

To establish the point that all the phenomena are fictitiously created by the mind and appear only to the mind, we make use of the principle of the determination of the variable and the invariable. When the mind is present, the phenomenal world is present. When there is no mind, there is no duality. When by the light of discriminative knowledge, discipline and non-attachment, the mind ceases to be mind, that is, when it is controlled and withdrawn into the Ātman, or when the mind by itself becomes latent in Ātman as in deep sleep, the duality ceases to be manifested. Therefore, as it ceases to be, duality cannot have a real existence.

The knowledge that Ātman is the only reality or Be-ness can arise only from the instruction given by the scriptures and by the teachers. In the absence of fuel, fire remains without burning. Similarly, in the absence of the functioning of the mind, it ceases to be mind. When there are no objects to be cognized, that is, when the mind does not create objects, it ceases to function as the cognizing agent and becomes one with Ātman.

Various scriptural texts and knowers of Brahman say that knowledge devoid of all differentiations, such as the knower and the known and therefore unborn and of the nature of pure consciousness, is non-different from the real Brahman to be known. Just as the sun of the nature of eternal light is known by its own luminosity, Brahman who is of the

essence of consciousness requires no other consciousness to know it.

It is not to be supposed that the subdued and controlled mind, free from all kinds of activities and their objects, is exactly like the mind in the state of deep sleep in which also there is no duality. In deep sleep, the state of the mind is different being under the influence of illusory darkness of wrong knowledge of Avidya. There will still be latent in the mind the impressions and root-causes of the activities giving rise to undesirable things. In the fire of realization of the Reality Ātman will be burnt up all wrong knowledge or Avidya and the root-causes of activities giving rise to appearances in the wakeful state. The state of the controlled mind is thus quite different, activity or Rajoguna and sources of sorrow having become quiescent. Therefore, it is not like the state of mind in deep sleep.

In deep sleep, the mind becomes latent being covered by Tamoguna. But in the state of realization of Ātman, the mind does not become latent and there is no Tamoguna or Avidya to cover it. When the two evils of the cognized and the cognizer due to Avidya or wrong knowledge disappear, then it becomes one with the non-dual supreme Brahman. That is the Fearless as there is no reason to fear in the absence of duality. Brahman, being of the nature of Eternity, Purity, Consciousness and Freedom, never requires any kind of action after the destruction of Avidya or wrong knowledge.

The absence of Avidya is what is known as Samādhi. As Brahman rests in Samādhi, he is known as Samādhi. As Brahman is Samādhi, immovable and fearless, there can be in Brahman no such action as grasping anything or giving up anything.

Yogins, seeking to know Brahman and not well-grounded in the teachings of Vedānta find it very difficult to understand Brahman. Though Brahman has been described as fearless, the Yogins are afraid of seeking Brahman thinking that it would lead to their own destruction. As such people are devoid of discrimination, there can be no freedom from

misery and fear while the mind, which is related to Ātman, is active. To them, a true knowledge of Ātman and eternal peace known as Mōksha are dependent on the control of the mind.

Control of the mind may be effected with determination, perseverance and without discouragement. The mind, which is engaged in forming desires and enjoyment of the fruits of action, should be turned back from them with proper means and care. Though the mind may be at perfect ease in sleep, it must be controlled even there, that is, it must be brought back to Ātman. Allowing the mind to remain latent in sleep is the same as encouraging it to indulge in the miseries attendant on Avidya. Therefore, the mind must be controlled even in the matter of sleep in which Vasanas or impressions of waking experience persist.

The mind should be brought to a state of equilibrium. One should not indulge in any happiness that may result from this state, as this also takes its source in Avidya. Through knowledge one should practise non-attachment to external objects. When the inactive mind shows signs of forming any attachment to external objects, it should be forcībly brought back into union with Ātman.

When the mind does not become latent in sleep nor active as in external experience but is absolutely quiescent and nothing appears before it, it is Brahman.

This Ātman is centred in itself, is ever at peace, as there is no evil in it. It is indescribable in words, as it is entirely unlike anything and unconnected with any external object.

All that has been described till now is to enable us to understand that the only reality or truth is Brahman or Ātman. No Jīva or actor or enjoyer is ever born in any way. Nor is any relation of cause and effect ever known about him. As Ātman is non-dual, there can be no cause of birth of a Jīva. When there is not the least thing like birth, that is the supreme Being or Existence.

Advaita has been proved to be real on the authority of Scriptures or Srutis and of reasoning. There are schools

of thought other than Advaita, such as dualists and nihilists whose doctrines are false and opposed to each other and give rise to desire, anger, misery, etc. What follows is intended to show that, in the absence of contradictions characteristic of dualists and nihilists, Advaita is the only true philosophy.

The Sāmkhyas among the dualists maintain that perceived objects, that is effects, were previously in existence but as causes. Others such as Vaiseshikas and Naiyayikas, being bolder and thinking themselves to be very wise, hold that the existing world came out of nothing, non-existence. Holding such opposite views, they are bound to quarrel with each other hoping to gain victory over the opponent.

As the result of these disputations and attempts to overthrow each other's doctrines, what tends to be established is Advaita. The Sāmkhya doctrine of the birth of an existing thing is overthrown by the holders of the theory of 'asat' or non-existence by saying that that which is does not need any production or birth. The Sāmkhyas, in turn, overthrow the theory of 'asat' or non-existence giving birth to an existing thing, by saying that an unperceived non-existence, like the unknown horn of a hare, cannot possibly give rise to any object. If something can come out of nothing, then since nothing has no distinctive nature, the whole world may result from the non-existence of anything, say a jar. Overthrowing by their disputations the mutually antagonistic theories of birth from existence and birth from non-existence, they tend to approach the non-dual position of the Advaitin and proclaim that, in truth, there is no such thing as birth.

What their arguments tend to establish non-birth or Ajati of anything, the Advaitins gladly accept and do not care to engage in any more disputes.

Some disputants predicate birth to that which is unborn and has no birth. How can that which has no birth and consequently immortal come to be mortal? The immortal cannot become mortal; nor can the mortal become immortal.

A thing of a certain nature cannot change into something just the opposite. Believing that a thing naturally immortal can achieve mortality, how can one maintain that a thing can remain immortal and unchanged while passing through birth ?

Heraclitus believed in incessant change without any underlying permanent identity or unity. Plato conceived of two worlds, one real and unchanging and the other consisting of change, confusion and instability, though the connection between the two is not clearly stated. Parmenides and his Eleatic successors held that change being impossible in a permanent, homogeneous substance, the reality of the world including our own bodies must be a mere illusion of our deceptive senses. Bergson is the apostle of the reality of incessant change and appeals to our ordinary experience, though it never gives us mere change without persistence. All change must be a change of or in something. If there is no underlying identity, there is nothing to change. It may appear paradoxical, but only what is permanent can change. The Self which changes with the flux of time and circumstance is still at the bottom the same old Self. If each change meant a quite new self, there would be no reason for joy in a transition to a better or sorrow in a change for the worse.

The Buddhists believe in the momentariness of sensations and knowledge. There is no self to feel them, compare them or experience joy or sorrow. If everything is momentary, why should one continue in a course of right conduct or feel responsibility for one's actions? A. E. Taylor in his " Elements of Metaphysics " defines change " as succession within an identity, the identity being as essential to the character of the process as the succession." He also thinks that a single coherent end welds the series of changes into a unity which underlies permanent identity of character. One may ask, how can that which is subject to a succession of changes have a permanent identity? What about the series of events forming a connected dream ? Is there a permanent underlying identity of character peculiar

to dream and separate from that of the waking state? The only way out of these difficulties is to assume that the changes are merely superimposed on an unchanging and eternal Brahman. This perception of the so-called changes and considering them real is Māya.

Many theologians seem to be at a loss to account for the immortality of the soul. It is one of the Christian tenets that God confers immortality on the souls he creates. But since the doctrine of the evolution of man from the lower animals came to be generally accepted, many religiously-minded persons are perplexed to believe in the immortality of the soul. They began to ask, at what stage of man's evolution from the ape did the soul in man become worthy of eternal life? An answer is furnished by Bishop Barnes. While preaching in Manchester Cathedral in March 1930, he gave out his discovery that when in the developing ape there appeared the first understanding of moral law, there arose a state of things in which immortality for the first time came into being. "Then the process of soul-making began and the animal began to put on humanity." "Belief in personal immortality has its basis on man's loyalty to goodness and truth. Man claims eternal life as a reward of righteousness which has a survival value. Otherwise, the universe would cease to be rational and the creator will be only capricious making useless experiments. Obedience to the moral law was man's gift to his maker." So, mortal man in the course of his evolution from the ape and the lower animals claimed immortality achieving it by his own exertions and transmitting it to all his successors. Bishop Barnes must be well aware that for every one man that obeys the moral law, there are ninety-nine who deliberately disobey it. What is the reward for such unrighteousness? Is it also immortality but only in hell? Having thus announced his discovery of the origin of immortality, Bishop Barnes declares that he does not believe in a static future but looks forward to development, achievement and enrichment. But as to where all this development, etc.,

is to take place, the Bishop is discreetly silent. He is satisfied with vaguely speaking of "a realm of God where nothing of value was ever wasted". The above is a fair sample of the way in which even educated, thinking men flounder in trying to account for the immortality of the soul.

Even in Vyavahāra or worldly experience, the nature of a thing is not known to change. The natural property of fire is to give out heat and light. This never changes at any time or place. The natural property of water is to flow from a higher to lower level and always remain constant. In all objects of worldly experience, which are merely objects superimposed on Brahman, this is recognized to be the meaning of the nature of a thing. So in the case of the real substance having no birth, immortality forms its very nature.

All the Jīvas whose nature is that of Ātman are, on account of that very nature, free from all changes, such as old age, death, etc. Being of such a nature, if on the Ātman are superimposed old age, death, etc., just as the snake is superimposed on a rope, they will be giving up the very nature of Ātman. The very thought of old age and death in relation to Ātman is committing the error of superimposition, that is, thinking one thing to be another.

The Vaiseshika shows how the Sāmkhya theory of an existing thing being born as the world is self-contradictory. The cause which, according to the Sāmkhya, is the material like clay, the cause of the jar is verily the effect. That the cause only becomes transformed into the effect is what they say. The unborn and ever-existing Pradhāna is born in the form of Mahat and other effects, though originally it has been taken to be changeless and permanent. If this is so, how can it be said to be unborn? It is a contradictory thing to say that an unborn thing is born. Moreover, Pradhāna is said to be immutable. When it breaks up in one part into a variety as the world, how can it continue to be immutable? It is not in conformity with experience in this world, that jars which have parts and broken in places

are ever said to be immutable. There is thus a two-fold contradiction in saying that a thing is unborn and born (that is transformed at the same time) and that a thing with parts is capable of being broken up into pieces and at the same time remain unchanged. In other words, if the Sāmkhyas wish to hold that the effect is non-different from the unborn cause, it would be as good as asserting that the effect is also unborn. This is contradicting the experience that a thing is an effect and yet unborn. Effect and cause being non-different, how can there remain the immutability of the cause in the effect that may be born? For half a hen cannot be cooked, allowing the other half to lay eggs.

Moreover, in support of the assumption that from an unborn substance an effect is born, there is verily no illustration. In the absence of an illustration, it may be taken as settled that from an unborn cause no effect can be born. Again, if a born thing is said to give rise to another the question will be asked, what gave birth to the first? There being no limit to such questions, the whole argument ends in infinite regress. A so-called cause must be preceded by antecedent event, which again must be preceded by others and one can go on infinitely backwards. So, it is absurd to speak of a first cause.

It may be argued that, from merit and demerit as causes, the aggregate of elementals known as the body is produced. From this body again are produced merit and demerit. Those who argue thus attribute to the causes in the form of merit and demerit and to the effects in the form of bodies an interdependence and mutual origin. How can such people predicate birthlessness either to causes or effects? Therefore, the eternal and unchanging Ātman can never become either effect or cause. The saying that from the result born of a cause the cause is reborn is quite as absurd as saying that from the son is born the father. Therefore, to prevent such an absurd conclusion, the order of succession of cause and effect must be first established, the cause being the prior one and the effect the subsequent one.

According to A. E. Taylor, causation means "that the occurrence and the character of every event in the Time series is completely determined by preceding events." In other words, the present depends on the past and the future on the present. Cause is not the whole true logical ground but the ground so far as it can be discovered in the train of temporarily antecedent circumstances. Thus, cause is incomplete ground and the principle of causation is not, like the principle of sufficient reason, axiomatic. Actual experience cannot prove the principle of causation. Cause is assumed, as it is practically useful. So, cause is a postulate which experience may confirm but cannot prove. The conception of cause is anthropomorphic in origin and owes its existence to practical needs.

If the cause and effect are said to arise simultaneously, they cannot bear the relation of cause and effect but will be like the right and left horns of a cow growing at the same time. Two things, each depending on the other for its production, can never come to bear the relation of cause and effect, nor indeed any other relation.

The illustration of seed and the sprout is sometimes brought forward as showing the relation of cause and effect. But, it does not serve the purpose; for, the relation between the seed and the sprout is not beginningless at all, as we see that all the previous ones had a beginning and all the succeeding ones likewise. At any moment, a sprout arises from a seed and sprout later on gives rise to seeds. The succession of seeds and sprouts shows always a beginning and nothing can be said to be without a beginning. This also applies to cause and effect.

There is no such thing as a series of seeds and sprouts without a beginning; for, apart from individual seeds and sprouts, there can be no such independent thing as a series of seeds and sprouts without a beginning. Similarly, a series of causes and effects cannot be maintained as apart from individual antecedent causes and subsequent effects.

To the scientific mind, causes and effects are alike events. Causation, in the scientific sense, means sequence of events under definitely known conditions. But, as popularly conceived, a cause is a person or something into which we can mentally project a conscious life akin to our own. A cause is never thought of as merely preceding the effect but it is supposed to *make* the effect occur, that is to say, to bring it about by an exercise of activity. So, a cause is conceived as being active and the effect passive.

The mere absence of knowledge of the antecedence and consequence, as regards cause and effect, is itself enough to bring into prominence the doctrine of non-birth. If the properties of a thing born are perceived, how can its preceding cause not be grasped? The perceiver of a thing born must needs perceive that from which it is born; for, the thing born and that from which it is born must be in a closely intimate relation with each other.

The birth of anything cannot be established by any manner of means. Nothing can be born from its own form. Nothing can reproduce itself, as one jar does not form another jar. Nor is anything produced from anything else, as a cloth is not produced from a jar. In the same way, two different things cannot together produce a new thing, as it is opposed to experience. A jar and a cloth together do not give rise to a new jar or cloth or a third thing.

In Vyavahara, we speak of a jar being produced from clay and of a son being born to the parents. But these are mere ideas and words. When properly examined, the basis of ideas and words and the corresponding attributes of objects such as a jar, a son, etc., are found to be nothing more than mere words. As the Sruti says, "All effects are mere words and names."

If effects like a jar, a son, etc., are supposed to be present in clay, parents, etc., birth need not be predicated of them, as they are already existing. Effects cannot be said to be born from 'asat', non-being, as like the horns of a hare, they have no existence whatever. No effects can

be produced from 'sadasat', being and non-being, as such a combination is contradictory and destructive in its very nature. Therefore, no object whatever is ever born or produced.

According to J. S. Mill, cause and effect are not distinct events or phenomena but the earlier and later stages in a continuous process. This, in fact, does away with the principle of causation. You cannot say where a cause ends and an effect begins or where one stage ends and the next begins.

Plurality of causes is ultimately a logical contradiction but, in any form in which the causal postulate is of practical use, it must recognize plurality. The causal postulate, according to which events are completely determined by antecedent events, leads to the belief that the stream of events is discontinuous. This belief is inherently self-contradictory and so ultimately untrue.

When the relation between cause and effect is said to be a necessity, it simply means that if you assert the existence of the conditions, you are logically bound to assert the existence of the result. It was Hume that first brought out this subjective character of the "necessity" of causal relation.

Some maintain that an object is produced by the union of action, actor and result; and that it is of a transitory nature. This is contrary to reason and experience. For, as the objects produced disappear immediately after their production and before their cognition and determination, they cannot at all be experienced and thus memory is rendered impossible.

Admitting the beginninglessness of causes, such as merit and demerit and of effects such as bodies is equivalent to accepting their non-production or non-birth, no effect can arise of itself without an external cause or from a cause having no beginning and therefore no birth. Worldly experience also supports the view that, where the cause is not known in the beginning, its birth also cannot

be known. Only that which has a cause has a beginning and not that which has none.

Ordinary people may consider that external objects apart from the perceiving subject are necessary for giving rise to sensation, to percepts, and feelings of joy, sorrow, etc. But thinkers know that, independent of consciousness, there can be no perceiving subject or perceived objects or perceptions. In dreams, we know that there are no external objects and yet the dreamer experiences sensations, percepts, etc. In deep sleep, we are not aware of a perceiving subject nor of any objects. This is also true of persons in the state of Samādhi or enlightened reflection and of Muktas or persons released from Avidya. Therefore, the so-called external objects of the waking state are as much causes of cognition as a rope is a cause of the appearance of a snake. The appearance of objects is due to Māya or Avidya and even a cause may not be a cause, as it disappears when the illusion goes.

(*To be continued.*)

SUMERO-DRAVIDIAN AFFINITIES

By A. S. Thyagaraju, M.A.

The discovery of a large number of seals at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro has set scholars on the interesting track of deciphering them and discovering the origin of the mysterious people who have been termed 'Sumerians'. It is now found out that the Indus valley civilization was substantially the same as the civilization of the Mesopotamian plateau; but the writings on the seals have baffled scholars.[1] Nevertheless Professor Waddell claims to have been able to read the script. He says how he discovered "that the 'Sumerian' language with its writing was the early Aryan speech and script and the parent of the Aryan family of languages, ancient and modern, with their writing, and in particular the parent of the English, Anglo-Saxon, 'Celtic', Gothic, Norse, Greek, Latin, Sanskrit and all unsuspectedly also, of the ancient Egyptian languages and writing; that this Aryan speech with its writing was spread over the ancient world by the Phœnicians, who were not Semites, as hitherto supposed, but the leading sea-faring branch of the Sumerians or Early Aryans."[2] He says in an earlier publication of his: "That the writing on these seals was 'Sumerian' and of an archaic type I recognized on the first glance at their photographs .... Having in my search for Aryan origins been led by various clues to the conclusion that the Sumerians were Aryans, ... the problem of the Indus Valley script was to me a comparatively easy one."[3] Professor Waddell has carried his study so deeply into the origins that

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[1] *Illustrated London News*, December 19, 1931. Review of Sir John Marshall's "Mohenjodaro", by Sir Arthur Keith.

[2] *A Sumer-Aryan Dictionary*. L. A. Waddell. Part I, A—F, 1927, Introduction, pp. ix-x.

[3] *The Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered*. L. A. Waddell, 1925, Preface, pp. v-vi.

he has been able to publish a dictionary of Sumer-Aryan terms.

But some other scholars have arrived at a conclusion which tries to equate Sumerian with Dravidian, it was Caldwell who first drew the attention of students of philology to certain affinities between Dravidian and Indo-European, and suggested that these must have been very early borrowings into the Indo-European of Dravidic terms. The discovery of the existence of an unknown people in the Indus Valley naturally had led some to suppose that these were the ancestors of the Dravidians, the dark race of South India. Mr. R. S. Vaidyanatha Aiyar has an interesting article on 'Sumero-Dravidian and Hittite-Aryan Origins'.[4] That there are affinities between the Dravidian language and many branches of the Indo-European family is being proved by many Indian scholars. Some claim a Sanskritic origin for Dravidian while others give it a contemporary development with Indo-European from a common mother-tongue, which is variously termed 'Sumerian', 'Scythian', etc. Some others[5] claim for it a close family connection with the eastern and northern branches of the Germanic family, *i.e.*, with Gothic and Old Icelandic.

A German Professor[6] considers that the Dravidians were the predecessors of the Aryans of Mesopotamia. Basing his conclusion on the study of place-names he says "where history is silent place-names might speak". Mr. L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar in a notice of this book speaks as follows about the professor's conclusion: "He is inclined to think that the original Dravidian peoples must have inhabited the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris and that from thence, pressed outwards by other races like the Semites, the Sumerians and the Aryans, they must have

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[4] *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, April 1929.

[5] *South Indian Research*, July 1920, p. 178. *cf.* the issues of August 1919 p. 7 ff. and February 1920, p. 54 ff.

[6] *Alt-dravidisches—Eine namenkundliche Untersuching.* Von A. Clemens Schœner. Partenkirchen, Germany.

spread over the plateaux of Persia and thence penetrated into India . . . In his book he traces a large number of ancient place-names in Afghanistan, the highlands of Persia, the plains of the Euphrates and the Tigris and Mesopotamia generally, to Dravidian forms . . . He also suggests that Dravidian words like *ār*: river, are discoverable in pre-Indo-Germanic names of places and of rivers, in Central Europe also."[7] Mr. Ramaswamy Aiyar quotes some very interesting parallels from Herr Schœner's brochure. Such, for example, are the name of the King, Sargon (*cf.* Drav. *sari*: straight, *kon*: king) the just king; Chinnaran, the name of a small fort (*cf.* Drav. *chinna*: small, *aram*: fort); Talar, the name of a spot where two small streams originate (*cf.* Drav. *talai*: head, *ār*: stream.); Chinnar; Bambur (*cf.* Drav. *pāmbu*: snake, *ūr*: town; Ur of the Chaldees, etc.

Professor Waddell has not thought of a possible connection of Dravidian with the ancient Sumerian. While studying his *Sumer-Aryan Dictionary*, it struck me that many of the Sumerian roots that he had listed had cognates or derivatives in the Dravidian languages. I cannot make bold to draw conclusions from these affinities, for there is every possibility of such resemblances being merely accidental; but perhaps it will be possible one day, after a thorough and systematic study of the grammar and syntax of Sumerian is made, to equate Aryan—Sumerian—Dravidian, especially when researches from other vistas of approach seem to point to the same end.

I give below a list of what seem to me to be Sumero-Dravidic Affinities. I follow the word order of Professor Waddell's *Sumer-Aryan Dictionary*. The Sumerian, Egyptian and Akkad roots are taken from the same book. The most striking English cognates, selected from Professor Waddell's list, are given in brackets, along with each root that is considered. I have used the "Āndhra Pada

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[7] *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, Vol. XX, No. 1, July 1929, pp. 49-53.

Pārijātamu"[8] for deciding whether a word is Dravidic or of Sanskrit origin. I have selected only words from the Telugu language, though I have also added a few Tamil cognates here and there.

A

Su. *a*: interjection. *cf.* Dr. *āh*: *abba, ayya, amma, arē.* (ah).

Su. *ab, ap, abba*: father. *cf.* Tel. *appa, abba*: father. (abbot).

Su. *ab, ap*: beget, cattle, create. *cf.* Tel. *appa, abba*: father; *abbāyi*: boy; *ammāyi*: girl; *āvu*: cow (have, heifer).

Su. *aba*: off, after, behind. *cf.* Tel. *avatala*: afterwards. Tam. *apparam*: afterwards (after, apology).

Su. *ad, at, adda*: father, mother. *cf.* Tel. *atta*: aunt (Dad, atavism).

Su. *aka, ang*: cry, howl, pain. *cf.* Tel. *ayyo*: cry of pain, *ēḍupu*: cry. Tam. *aṟei*: cry. (ache, agony, awe).

Su. *al*: high, lofty, hill. *cf.* Tam. *āṟam*: deep (altar, altitude).

Su. *ala, alal*: all, full, totality. *cf.* Tel. *ella*: everything. Tam. *ellām, alla*: all (all, almost).

Su. *ame, eme*: mother, love, grace. *cf.* Tel. *amma*: mother, *ammi*: woman (mamma, mammalia).

Su. *ama*: womb, wide, hold.+Egy. *am*: to swallow. *cf.* Tel. *ummi*: spittle; *ubbu*: to swell (womb, ample).

Su. *ana*: one. +Sans. *ani*: a pin. *cf.* Tel. *āṇi*: axle pin (an, one, unit).

Su. *ar, ar, ara*: plough, bond uplift. *cf.* Tel. *eddu*: ox; *enumu*: male buffalo; *eru*: to plough. Tam. *arisi*: rice (ear, arable, harrow).

Su. *ara*: copper, bronze. *cf.* Tel. *eṛa, eṛṛa*: red (ore).

Su. *arata, aratta*: earth, land, massive, heavy. *cf.* Tel. *ārāṭamu*: sadness; *araṭi-cheṭṭu*: plantain tree; the village name 'Araṭla-kaṭṭa' (earth, arduous, orthodox).

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[8] *Āndhrapadapārijātamu anu Suddhāndhranighaṇṭuvu*, by Ogirala Jaganadhakavigaru and Gurujada Sree Ramamurthygaru, 1888.

B

Su. *bad*, *bat* : stave, wooden tool. *cf.* Tel. *badda* : bamboo splinter; *bettamu* : rattan, cane (bat, battledore).

Su. *bad*, *bat* : strike, destroy, kill. *cf.* Tel. *bādu* : to strike; *poḍu* : to poke; *paṭṭu* : to hold. Tam. *puḍi* : hold (beat batter, butt, pat).

Su. *bad*, *bat* : deep, dark. *cf.* Tel. *bottiga* : totality (bottom, buttock, fathom, pathos, pedal).

Su. *bal* : to turn. *cf.* Tel. *malupu* : bend. Tam. *vaḷi*, *vaḷ* : to bend (ball, bowler, voluble).

Su. *ban*, *pan* : bow. *cf.* Tel. *banḍi* : bullock cart, 'bandy', *banti* : ball; *vongu* : to bend; *vonkara* : crooked. Tam. *vanḍi* : cart (bandy, bent, banjo).

Su. *bar* : city. *cf.* Tel. *vūru* : town; *prōlu* : city (borough).

Su. *bar* : see, look, inspect. *cf.* Tel. *pāruva* : sight; *pāruvamu* : pigeon. Tam. *pāru* : see (peer, pry, pore).

Su. *bil*, *pil*, *bi* : blaze, flame, fire. *cf.* Tel. *vella* : white. Tam. *veḷḷi* : silver; *veḷichem* : light (blaze, bliss).

Su. *bir* : break, tear, cut off. *cf.* Tel. *viruchu* : to break; *piruchu* : to tear; *puruḍu* : child-birth (break).

Su. *bir* : offspring, child, brood. *cf.* Tel. *puruḍu* : child-birth; *biḍḍa* : child; *pilla* : child, girl; *piṭṭa* : bird (breed, brood, bred, bird, birth, brat).

Su. *bur*, *buru* : bore, open, dig. *cf.* Tel. *purugu* : worm. Tam. *pūru* : to enter (bore, perforate, burrow, prick).

Su. *bur*, *bu*, *buru* : worm, serpent. *cf.* Tel. *purugu* : worm. Tam. *puṟuvu* : worm (worm, vermin, vermicelli, Ormes-head).

Su. *buru* : fruit, berry, many-fold. *cf.* Tel. *palu* : many. Tam. *paṟam* : fruit (berry, fruit).

D

Su. *dab*, *dib*, *tab* : dwelling, surround, tent. *cf.* Tel. *dibba* : mound; *ḍāba* : terrace. Tam. *teppa* : raft (tabor, tapis, tavern, tabernacle.)

Su. *dag*, *tak*: spread out, extend, cover. *cf.* Tel. *tāku*: touch; *dāgu*: hide (deck, decorate, detect, thatch, toga, protect).

Su. *dam*: consort, wife, husband. *cf.* Tel. *tammuḍu*: brother. Tam. *tambi*: brother (dam, dame, damsel).

Su. *dar*, *tar*: wound, cut open, tear. *cf.* Tel. *tera*: weapon. *tora*: danger, *toragu*: to fall (tear, torn, thorn).

Su. *dar*, *tar*, *dara*: weave, cloth, colour. *cf.* Tel. *dēra*: tent (drape, trap, drab).

Su. *dar*, *dir*, *tar*: look up, shut, door. *cf.* Tel. *talupu*: door (door).

Su. *dara*, *daru*: fetter, band, net. *cf.* Tel. *dāramu*: thread; *trāḍu*: rope (draught, draft, draw, drag, dragon).

Su. *de*, *di*: shine, destroy. *cf.* Tam. *tīy*: fire (devil, demon, diabolic).

Su. *del*: cutting. *cf.* Tel. *tēlu*: scorpion (dale, delve, dell, dole, doll, idol, tool).

Su. *dib*: enclose, hold, retain. *cf.* Tel. *dibba*: mound; *tippa*: hill (dwell).

Su. *dim*: pillar, post, bar, log. *cf.* Tel. *dimma*: log, bar (timber).

Su. *dim*: erect, build of houses, etc. *cf.* Tel. *dimma*: a platform, 'payal', a support. *tinne*: a payal; *dinne*: a mound as in the village name 'Dipal-dinne' (dome, domestic).

Su. *dim*: overwhelm, crush down, cut. *cf.* Tel. *dimmisa*: an instrument for levelling the ground; *dimpu*: to put down; *tinu*: to eat (doom, damn, timid, damage, condemn).

Su. *dim*, *dimma*: weak in body and mind. *cf.* Tel. *dimmari*: an unconscious person; *dimma*: to be stunned (dim, bedim).

Su. *dirig*: bend, bow down, dark. *cf.* Tel. *tirugu*: turn back (dwarf).

Su. *du*: go, come. *cf.* Tel. *dūku*, *dumuku*: to cross (dawdle).

Su. *dub*, *tub*: tablet, platform, table. *cf.* Tel. *tapēlā*: brass, utensil; *tabuku*: plate (table, tableau, tablet).

Su. *dur*, *tur*: prince, king, the great, lofty. *cf.* Tel. *dora*: lord, great man, rich person (Tyrant, Thor).

E

Su. *edin*, *etin*: plain, field, desert. *cf.* Tel. *edāru*, *edāri*: desert (Garden of Eden, Aden).

Su. *ega*, *egura*: black-water, high tide. *cf.* Tam. *ēri*: lake. (aqua, ocean, Euxine, Ægean).

Su. *edir*: backwards, after, walking away. *cf.* Tel. *eguru*: to fly. Tam. *ēru*: to ascend (vagary, vague, vagrant, extravagant).

Su. *ela-mu*: mount, rise up, hill. *cf.* Tel. *ettu*: high. Tam. *ēru*; to ascend (Alp, Elam).

Su. *elim*, *ilim*: ram, leader of the herd. *cf.* Tel. *ēlu*: to rule (billy, William, Elk. eland).

Su. *eme*: tongue, language, mouth. *cf.* Tel. *ummi*: spittle; *mu*, *mūti*: mouth. Tam. *mudal*: first, mouth (ahem, hem, amen, yammer).

Su. *er*, *eri*, *ir*: hurry, hasten. *cf.* Tel. *ēru*: river; *āru*: river. Tam. *ēri*, *ār*: river (hurry, hurricane, hurl, urge, whirl).

Su. *er*, *eri*, *uru*: fortified city. *cf.* Tel. *ūru*: city. Tam. *ūr*: city. (—)

Su. *erim*: army, warrior. Pictured by the Lightning sign. *cf.* Tel. *uṛumu*: thunder (army, armada).

F

Su. *fi*, *pi*: serpent, bite, afflict. *cf.* Tel. *usuru*: life, agony. Tam. *virian*: asp. (viper, vile, virus).

Su. *firiq*, *piriq*: frightful, kill, grief. *cf.* Tel. *piriki*: coward (fright, fierce, ferocity, brigand, prig).

GAUTAMIPUTRA, RUDRADĀMA AND KĀNIṢKA.

BY S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI, M.A.

IN a previous issue of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Vol. XVII, p. 334), I pointed out that the evidence of the Purāṇas leads us to believe that Hāla-Śālivāhana is the founder of the era named after him. That Hāla was also a powerful monarch who extended his power as far as Ceylon is proved by other literary evidences (*Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. II, Pt. I, July 1927). If we push this point to its logical conclusion, it leads us to the fact that Gautamīputra must be placed in 108 to 130 A.D. and Puḷamāvi from 130 to 158 A.D. This means that Puḷamāvi, Rudradāman who must certainly be placed in 130 to 150 A.D. and Kāniṣka (accession in 128-29 A.D. according to Sten Konow and Wijk) were contemporaries.

Several objections are urged against this theory. The first is that Chasṭana or Tiastenes is mentioned with a Puḷamōvi by Ptolemy as contemporaries. Ptolemy relied upon inaccurate reports of sailors from whom he drew his information for his works which he wrote between 104-147 A.D. Therefore it is possible that Ptolemy was recording facts of history forty or fifty years old. Thus there is no sufficient basis for the conclusion that Ptolemy, Chaṣṭana and Puḷamāvi were living in *c.* 110 A.D.

There are three Puḷomāvis mentioned in the Purāṇas. According to my chronology given in connection with the discussion of Śālivāhana era, the list of kings from the beginning of the Christian era is as follows :—

No. 11	Skandasvāti	...	2 B.C. to 5 A.D.
,, 12	Mṛgēndra	...	5 A.D. to 8 ,,
,, 13	Kuṇtaḷa	...	8 ,, to 16 ,,
,, 14	Svātikarṇa	...	16 ,, to 17 ,,
,, 15	Puḷomāvi I	...	17 ,, to 53 ,,

Chaṣṭaṇa was most probably the contemporary of this

Puḷomāvi about the year 50 A.D. There is no evidence to prove that Katch was ever under the Śātavāhanas. Ujjaini was probably captured by Chaṣṭaṇa which enabled him to call himself a Mahākṣatrapa whereas in his early days he was merely a Kṣatrapa. But under Jayadāman, who was merely a Kṣatrapa, Ākara or Eastern Māḷva was once again taken by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and was held in his grasp as is evident from the inscription of Balaśrī. This reconquest of Ujjaini by Gautamīputra must have been after his eighteenth year, for till then he was staying at Benakaṭaka near Vaijayanti in the south of the Kṛṣna.

It is agreed that Jayadāman who succeeded Chaṣṭaṇa must have reigned for at least fifteen or twenty years before the accession of Rudradāman some years before 130 A.D. Mr. R. D. Banerjee is most probably right in holding that the Andhau inscription of the year 52 is that of Rudradāman himself and there is nothing to prove the joint rulership of Chaṣṭaṇa and Rudradāman. I believe that most probably more than half a century was covered by the closing years of Chaṣṭaṇa, the rule of Jayadāman and some years of Rudradāman before 130 A.D.

The *Periplus* mentions Mambarus (identified with Nahapāṇa) and an elder Saraganes (probably Skand Svātikarṇa). If we assign the Junnar inscription of the 46th year to the Vikrama era, Nahapāṇa should be placed in the last decade of the first century B.C. and probably in the beginning of the first century A.C. The evidence of the Joglethembi hoard has conclusively proved that more than a century must have elapsed, during which time the successors of Nahapāṇa impressed their own figures on the coins and passed them into circulation, before the coins were restruck by Gautamīputra (*Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXII). Therefore there is no difficulty in placing Gautamīputra in *c.* 110 A.D. Rudradāman cannot have wrested Ākara from Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Śātakarṇi who was a very powerful ruler. He is assigned a rule of nearly thirty years in the Purāṇas and his coins bearing the figure of

a ship speak of his naval power also. Yajña Śrī seems to have retrieved the fallen fortunes of his family after the comparatively weak rule of Puḷumāvi the successor of Goutamīputra, Śiva Śrī and Śivaskanda, as his coins are found in Kathiawar and Gujarat.

The vicissitudes of Śātavāhana power in the north must have been as follows. Chaṣṭaṇa during the closing years of Puḷōmāvi I was probably deputed by Kuzula Kadphises to rule Kutch and Eastern Māḷava. He conquered Ujjaini and called himself a Mahākṣatrapa during the rule of Maṇḍalaka, Purikasēna, Sundara Śāta, Chakora and Śivasvāti who seem to have been merely nominal kings soon deposed, as very brief reigns are assigned to them. Gautamīputra, however, determined to root out foreign rule. During these dark days, the Śātavāhana capital was removed to Benakaṭaka which was probably the earliest home of the Śātavāhanas. Gautamīputra's inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, Nasik Inscriptions, No. 4) refers to him (as the lord of Benakaṭaka in Gōvardhana) and to the camp of the Vaijayanti army. To interpret both *Vējayantiye* and *Vijaya* before *Skandhavāra* as meaning victorious, would mean that the word has been repeated by the composer of the inscription merely to emphasize the success of the army, whereas a single word would have been more than enough. Therefore *Vējayantiye Senaye* undoubtedly refers to Banavāsi. Banavāsi was a place of importance long before the rise of the Kadambas, under the rule of Haratīputra Viṣṇukaḍa Chūṭu Kadānanda and Harītīputra Śivaskandavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, XLVI, p. 156 ff.) who certainly belonged to the Śātavāhana and Chūṭu families. Therefore we must look for Gōvardhanagiri and Benakaṭaka round about Banavāsi. It is interesting to note in this connection that the word *Vijaya* is connected with Vaijayanti or Banavāsi in early Kadamba inscriptions "*Svasti, Vijaya Vaijayantyām Swāmi Mahāsēna mātṛgaṇānudhyātābhishiktānam*" etc. (*Epi. Car.*, Shimoga, Vol. II, SB. 33). Similarly Jinasēna in his Mahāpurāṇa while describing the conquests of Bharata, speaks of Vaijayanti and its sea-port *Vaijayanti Mahādvāra*,

In the Kadamba inscription of Mṛgēśavarman referred to above, there is mention of a Veṇṇā river, obviously the stream Yeṇṇe which joins the Śarāvati, and here also is found Gōvardhanagiri on the borders of the Shimoga district just below the place where the Śarāvati joins the sea. Therefore I believe that Gautamīputra called himself the lord of Benakaṭaka and Gōvardhanagiri and with his army from Banavāsi marched on the Khakarātas and other rulers and regained the other capital Pratiṣṭhana. Gautamīputra put an end to the line of Khakarātas and wrested back the provinces that had been lost. The provinces mentioned in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman and Nasik inscription of Balasrī are as follows (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII):—

Gautamīputra (*c.* 106—130 A.D.)	Rudradāman (130—150 A.D.)
(1) Ākara	(1) Pūrvāparākara
(2) Avanti	(2) Avanti
(3) Anūpa	(3) Anupa
(4) Ānarta	(4) Anarta
(5) Suraṭha	(5) Surāṣṭra
(6) Kukara	(6) Kukura
(7) Aparānta	(7) Aparānta

Other provinces mentioned by Gautamīputra are Asika, Asaka, Mulaka and Vidarbha. Those mentioned by Rudradāma are Maru, Kachha, Sindhu, Sōvīra, Nishāda and Youdheya. The provinces, Rudradāma says, were taken by himself unaided (*Svavīryārjita*). Evidently all the western provinces even as far as Aparānta were wrested from Puḷamāvi who was driven back to the ancient capital Benakaṭaka where he stayed till his 19th year (No. 3, Nasik Inscriptions), when having rebuilt Pratiṣṭhāna he called it Navanagara or new town. Therefore it is apparent that while Aparānta was in the possession of the Kṣatrapas, Puḷamāvi could not have been at Paiṭhan. Indeed Rudradāma seems to have harried the Śātakarṇi into the Dakṣiṇāpatha twice without any provocation (*nirvyāja*) but left him alone because of his relationship.

In arriving at the above reconstruction of history of the Kṣatrapas and Śātavāhanas we have taken for granted first that Nahapaṇa lived before Sodāsa; secondly, that though a century elapsed between Nahapāṇa and Gautamīputra, the successors of Nahapaṇa were content with merely changing the figures on the coins without changing the legends; and thirdly, that Chaṣtaṇa and Jayadāman had probably very long reigns. Each one of these points can be disputed, but thereby the dates here assigned to Goutamīputra are not much affected (*Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 230).

As soon as the powerful hand of Goutamīputra was removed by death in 129-30 A.D., Rudradāman became aggressive in Sindh and Gujarat and sought to extend his sovereignty at the expense of Puḷamōvi II. He took Ākara from the Śātavāhanas some time before 150 A.D.; but in his old age or perhaps in the time of his weak successor, Eastern Māḷva was lost to the Kṣatrapas. Kāniṣka I who started his own era in 128-29 A.D. grew in power; and in the 28th year of his reign, *i.e.*, in126 A.D. we find Vasiṣka ruling there. The Śātavāhana power suffered an eclipse during the reigns of Pulōmāvi II, Śiva Śrī and Śiva Skanda and they had to retire south of the Kṛshṇa to their original home near Benakaṭaka and Vaijayanti. It was only under Goutamīputra Yajña Śri, who taking advantage of the weak rule of Kṣatrapas and Kuṣāṇas, managed to reconquer all the old Sātavāhana possessions—Ākara, Sourāṣṭra, Aparānta, etc., that the Śātavāhana power revived. Aśmaka, Mulaka and Vidarbha were too far from the centre of Kṣatrapa, Khakarāṭa and Kuṣāṇa activities and were never subject to these foreign powers with the occasional exception of Pratiṣṭhāna which was the capital of the Mulaka country from the earliest times.

The *Jātakas, Mahābhārata*, etc., refer to Pratiṣṭhāna, the capital of Mulaka country as contrasted with Pouḍana, the capital of the Aśmaka country (*Jātakas* III, 3-3 & 4). Kaniṣka's power never extended into Sindh or Ākara or Eastern Mālva during his own time. But the real bone of contention between Kaniṣka and Rudradāman seems to have been Sōvīra.

According to Sue Vihāra record of the year 11 (140 A.D.), Bhāvalpur on the Sutlej must have been in possession of Kaniṣka. This was in the country of Sōvīra in which, according to Al-Beruni, was included Multan. In the year 150 A.D. we find Rudradāman claiming it. In 156 A.D. we find Vasiṣka extending the Kuṣāṇa power as far as Ākara (Eastern Māḷva). Therefore we have to conclude that some time after 140 A.D. and before 150 A.D. Sōvīra was taken from Kaniṣka, but later, before 156 A.D. Vasiṣka repulsed the Kṣatrapas and took possession of Ākara. If on the other hand accepting the statement of Yuvan Chwang, we say that Sōvīra was a part of the kingdom of Takka with its capital at Sakala near Jalandhar on the Bias, we will be forced to conclude that Rudradāman's dominions extended even into the Punjab. This is manifestly impossible. Therefore the river Sutlej was most probabaly the northern limit of his territory beyond which Kaniṣka held sway. Rudradāman held Sōvīra in the north and Aparānta in the south only for a short time with the might of his power. These frontier provinces, however, were taken by Vasiṣka and Pulomāvi, respectively, probably after his death.

PRATIJÑĀ-YAUGANDHARĀYAṆA : A CRITIQUE

By H. L. Hariyappa, M.A.

I. Introduction

Bhāsa and his Plays.—Bhāsa was only a name two decades ago. We are indebted to Prāktana Vimarśa Vicakṣaṇa Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar and Mahāmahōpādhyāya Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri for unearthing Bhāsa and securing for him and his works their deserved position in Sanskrit literature[1]. Searching enquiry has been made and divergent theories have been put forth by scholars these two and twenty years regarding the age and authenticity of the plays. It cannot be denied, however, that they form an excellent and sumptuous addition to the Sanskrit drama. It is proposed to consider here one of Bhāsa's thirteen plays—Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa.

The great epics of India, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata have, from time immemorial, been the perennial source of Indian poetry. Poets have vied with one another in working upon incidents and anecdotes selected from these vast store-houses. Some have gone to other sources and even to real life for their theme. Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* and Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, for instance, draw from *Kathā* literature, while Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭika* and Bhavabhūti's *Mālatī-Mādhava* picture from life. Some works like Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* and Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* have also given us history.

The Theme of the Plays.—Bhāsa has drawn from all these sources. Six of his plays are based on the Mahābhārata, two on the Rāmāyaṇa, three on the *Kathā*, one on the Kṛṣṇa legend and one on social life. Some historical facts are also met with in these plays, notably in *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa* and

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[1] *Vide Mysore Archæological Report for 1909-10*, paragraph 116. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 40, pp. 87-89. *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, edited by T. G. Sastri, Trivandrum, 1924. Introduction.

Svapna-Vāsavadatta. The subject-matter of *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa* is from Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*[2], which is said to be in *Paiśācī* Prākṛt and appears to be as interesting as it is voluminous. Says Bāṇa in the introduction to his *Harṣacarita*—

समुद्दीपितकन्दर्पा कृतगौरीप्रसाधना ।
हरलीलेव नो कस्य विस्मयाय बृहत्कथा ॥

"For whose wonderment will not the *Bṛhatkathā* be—the Great Story which kindles the (sense of the) Beautiful and embellishes the *Gaurī Vidyā*[3] (so called), even as God Śiva's sport which burns Kandarpa (Cupid) and (yet) decorates Pārvatī?"

The Legend of Udayana.—The legend of Udayana Vatsarāja seems to have been very popular in early Sanskrit and Pāḷi literatures. References to him or to incidents in his life are found in technical works like Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, as well as in literary works like *Mṛcchakaṭika* and *Meghadūta*, not to speak of whole works on the subject like *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa*, *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, *Ratnāvaḷī* and *Priyadarśikā*. Udayana, besides, figures in history as having ruled at Kauśāmbī just after the decease of the Buddha and as having been a contemporary of Ajātaśatru of Magadha and Pradyota of Ujjayinī. Buddhist and Jain works relating to the period, as well as the Purāṇas, refer to this aspect in great detail.[4]

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[2] The Great Story is handed down through three adaptations or abridgements thereof, *viz.*, Somadeva's *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* (composed between 1063-87 A.D.), Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (slightly earlier than the former) and Budhaswamin's *Bṛhatkathaślokasaṅgraha* (earlier than 1000 A.D.). The last-named work was brought to light and its relative merits thoroughly discussed by Felix Lacôte in his *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā*, translated into English by Rājasabhābhūṣaṇa the Rev. A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.R.A.S., M.B.E., and published by the Mythic Society, Bangalore (1923).

[3] *Cf.*, Com. Śaṅkara—कृतं गौर्या विद्याभैदस्याराधनं यस्याम् । On the interpretation of the stanza compare also foot-note on p. 17, *Essay on Guṇāḍhya and the Bṛhatkatha* (Father Tabard's Translation).

[4] For fuller information see *Priyadarśikā* of Śrī Harṣa, edited and translated by G. K. Nariman, A. V. W. Jackson and C. J. Ogden. (Columbia University, Indo-Iranian Series.) Introduction, pp. lxii-lxxvi.

II. The Play

The Plot.—Vatsarāja was an accomplished person and an expert in the art of music, able to entice the elephant with the mysterious vīṇā known as *Ghoṣavatī.* He was a formidable king and the country prospered under his rule supported as it was by the able minister Yaugandharāyaṇa. His neighbour, King Pradyota, also known as Mahāsena owing to his possessing a large army, was anxious to give in marriage to Vatsarāja his fair daughter Vāsavadattā. But Vatsarāja, out of sheer self-esteem (Act II, pp. 60-61), would not even regard him. Pradyota had, therefore, recourse to stratagem and enticed Vatsarāja to the borders of the kingdom, unaware and unsupported, by means of a blue elephant, which in the imagination of the royal hunter, corresponded to the type of elephants (नीलकुवलयतनुः) described in the śāstras. He was easily drawn to it and overwhelmed by the enemies lying in wait. Yaugandharāyaṇa, his minister, learnt through his spies about the intended ruse but he was late in warning the king of the danger. The capture of Vatsarāja was, therefore, inevitable. Once while he was in prison, he accidentally saw the princess and fell in love with her.[5] Meanwhile, Yaugandharāyaṇa, who excelled his contemporaries in stratagem and statesmanship, entered Pradyota's capital with his friends and servants, all in disguise, and won over, by liberal presents, all the guards of his master's prison. Secret communication was thus established between the minister, disguised as a mad man, and Vatsarāja through the Vidūṣaka disguised as a buffoon. Vāsavadattā, in her love[6] for Vatsarāja, consented to run away with him and the escape was effected

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[5] The Vidūṣaka's reference to the romance is not without humour—यौ—ततस्ततः। वि—किं ततस्तत इति? बन्धनमिदानीं प्रमदवनं सम्भाव्य प्रवृत्तो रागलीलां कर्तुम्। Act III, pp. 94 (Text edited with commentary by T. G. Sastri, Trivandrum).

[6] So ardent was it that she denied herself later on all comfort in order to help Yaugandharāyaṇa in redeeming her noble lord's suzereignty. The whole of the *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*—a companion play to this—is devoted to celebrate the triumph of this love.

at the earliest opportunity. In their attempt to recapture Vatsarāja, Mahāsena's guards could only take away as prisoner Yaugandharāyaṇa, who, with the small party of his soldiers, engaged them in severe fight. Bharatarohaka, the minister of Mahāsena, wished to take revenge on the prisoner, but Mahāsena, being pleased to find that Yaugandharāyaṇa employed the trick not to harm him but to save his master, acquitted him with honour. Vatsarāja and Vāsavadattā lived happily as king and queen.

First Act.—The play is short enough and the dramatist nowhere indulges in elaborating any single sentiment with the result that the interest of the audience or the reader is never allowed to flag. The first act, besides giving a clear idea of the relative position of Vatsarāja and Mahāsena through the conversation between Yaugandharāyaṇa and Hamsaka, also indicates the conclusion through the oath taken by Yaugandharāyaṇa. The graphic narrative of the fall of Vatsarāja fully arrests attention.

Second Act.—In the second act, Pradyota's position is further revealed and the dénouement rendered hopeful by the equitable treatment afforded to the royal prisoner and by the fact that Mahāsena and his queen desire to make him their son-in-law. Mahāsena's discussion of the marriage problem with his chamberlain, Bādarāyaṇa, and then with the queen, her enthusiasm regarding musical instruction being given to the princess and her assumed indifference regarding the choice of a suitable bridegroom after Vatsarāja was brought a captive are presented in a homely way and are characteristically modern. The whole act is pleasantly realistic.

Third Act.—The third act, called the *mantrāṅka* (consulting scene), describes, by *suggestion*,[7] how the goal is within reach, clear of all obstacles. Its attainment is further assured

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[7] The learned translators of the Punjab have ignored altogether the suggestive aspect of this act in their translation. Though it could be well regarded that the Vidūṣaka's prattle and the Unmattaka's outbursts meant only fun and nothing more, yet the force of *dhvani* underlying it cannot be resisted. Compare Pandit T. G. Sastri's commentary.

by the final instructions given by Yaugandharāyaṇa (p. 90). The first part of the act is at once humorous and suggestive. First enters the Vidūṣaka, disguised as a buffoon, complaining of the loss of his pudding bowl (मोदकमल्लक), suggesting thereby his not having found Yaugandharāyaṇa, to whom he is anxious to deliver the king's message. Yaugandharāyaṇa, on the other hand, having laid out his plan by that time, seems to take matters easy. The Vidūṣaka holds within himself a catechismal inquiry as to what might have happened to the pudding bowl. Yaugandharāyaṇa enters as a mad man and in their dialogue, which is strictly in keeping with their assumed rôles, a private conference is suggested as urgent to consider the situation. Rumaṇvān is also cleverly introduced as Śramaṇaka. They all adjourn to the secret Fire Chamber (अग्निगृह) where they confer. The king's message that the escape can be only with Vāsavadattā is delivered; and though at first the conferrers despair, their loyalty asserts itself and Yaugandharāyaṇa takes his second oath to see that Vāsavadattā also escapes with Vatsarāja. They disperse and the act fittingly closes by the resumption of the mad man's rôle by Yaugandharāyaṇa.

The dramatist has skilfully managed the scene in all its details, though sometimes, as in the opening speech of the buffoon, the humour is rendered heavy by the suggestion involved. Also there is no consistency in the words used for particular hidden ideas. मोदकमल्लक (pudding-bowl) is intended to refer to Vatsarāja or Yaugandharāyaṇa or even the intended conference; and मोदकाः point to the king's message or the secret soldiers. It may render the passage very difficult for ready comprehension and may even mean a failure on the stage. But this disadvantage is more than compensated by the suggestion involved and the skill exhibited. Further, the success of any piece, easy or difficult, depends on the actor as well. Let alone the Vidūṣaka's soliloquy. How natural is the ensuing dialogue between the Vidūṣaka and the Unmattaka (Yaugandharāyaṇa), full of fun and transparently suggestive of the secret purpose! The double rôle gets more

and more interesting and every line bears testimony to the masterly mind that conceived it.

Fourth Act.—In the last act also the action is rapid. Vatsarāja has escaped and is doubly happy with his love; Yaugandharāyaṇa's efforts are crowned with success though he falls a captive and is brought for trial. Happily the chamberlain announces that Mahāsena is pleased to recognize his merit and requests him to accept the king's present. Mahāsena's queen desires to die for the loss of her dear daughter but the king consoles her by proposing to celebrate the marriage of the run-away couple in a painting.

Characteristics of the Play.—The story is plainly one of love as the ultimate result is the elopement of Vāsavadattā with Vatsarāja. The play primarily celebrates the greatness of Yaugandharāyaṇa as a diplomat and incidentally the marriage, though behind the screen. Neither the prominence of the minister nor the love between Vatsarāja and Vāsavadattā is anywhere lost sight of. Yaugandharāyaṇa himself countenances the love affair and aids it. How interesting again is the fact that King Mahāsena and party have the same end as the enemies themselves and how the effect of the romance is very much heightened by the harmonious blending of the *Vīra* and *Śṛṅgāra rasas* consequent on the heroic activities of the minister and the romantic relationship between Vatsarāja and the princess![8]

Unlike an ordinary story depicting a conflict between two parties where one triumphs and the other loses, here there is something more; while the one has triumphed, the other has by no means lost as both achieved their object—the marriage between Vasavadattā and Vatsarāja. Besides,

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[8] *Cf.* Com. (Tri. Edn., 1920) Act IV, p. 128.

यदस्य कार्यस्य कुक्षिगतं कार्यान्तरं—वत्सराजाय वासवदत्ताप्रदानं नाम, तत्तु महासेनस्य साध्यम् । वत्सराजस्याविधेयस्य सतो विधेयत्वापादनार्थं छलयित्वापग्रहणं वासवदत्तावीणोपदेशाचार्यीकरणं च तस्य साध्यस्य साधनोपायः, वासवदत्तावत्सराजयोर्गान्धर्वविधिना विवाहनिष्पत्तेश्च तत्सिद्धिरिति महासेनकार्यसिद्धिगर्भीकरणात् कामपि विच्छित्तिं यौगन्धरायणकार्यसिद्धिरस्यां नाटिकायां नीयत इति वेदितव्यम् ।

Mahâsena employs stratagem to capture Vatsarāja not to humiliate him but to secure him as his son-in-law. He means it unmistakably when he says—

भोः ! काशिराजदूतसंप्रेषणेन वत्सराजग्रहणार्थं गतं शालङ्कायनं प्रति गता मे बुद्धिः । किन्नु खल्वद्यापि वृत्तान्तं न प्रेषयति स ब्राह्मणः ॥

(Act II, p. 50.)

"Ay, the king of Benares sending an envoy, my mind turns towards Śālaṅkāyana who has gone to capture Vatsarāja. How is it that the Brahmin sends no information yet?"

While, on the one hand, Mahāsena feels unable to disoblige the king of Benares whose virtues as related by his ambassador, Jaivanti, are enticing, on the other, he feels assured that he cannot secure a better bridegroom than Vatsarāja. The queen's regard for him is noteworthy.[9]

देवी—किन्नु खल्वेनमुत्सेकयति ?

राजा—उत्सेकयत्येनं प्रकाशराजर्षिनामधेयो वेदाक्षरसमवायप्रविष्टो भारतो वंशः । दर्पयत्येनं दायाद्यागतो गान्धर्वो वेदः । विभ्रमयत्येनं वयस्सहजं रूपम् । विस्रंभयत्येनं कथमप्युत्पन्नोऽस्य पौरानुरागः ।

देवी—अभिलषणीया वरगुणाः ॥

(Act II, pp. 60-61.)

Queen—What is it that elates him, I wonder?

King—Well, the Bhārata dynasty (whose scion he is) elates him—a dynasty which is mentioned in the Vedic lore and which counts among its numbers many an esteemed royal sage. A knowledge of music which he inherits invigorates him. A personality well becoming his age deludes him. (More than all) the love of his subjects somehow earned inspires him with confidence.

Queen.—Desirable are these noble qualities.

A young athlete, an accomplished musician, a high-born prince, a beloved ruler, an ardent hunter but a complete stranger to what later makes him the most famous prince of

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9 Compare the Queen's message of condolence to Vatsarāja on the reported death of Vāsavadattā in the *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* (Tri. Edn., 1924), p. 133.—

धात्री—आह भट्टिनी 'उपरता वासवदत्ता । मम वा महासेनस्य वा यादृशौ गोपालकपालकौ तादृश एव त्वं प्रथममेवाभिप्रेतो जामातेति.....॥'

romance ; such is Vatsarāja. His capture comes quite opportunely, a blessing in disguise. Likewise, Yaugandharāyaṇa's effort to liberate his master is but a friendly act to Mahāsena. Therefore it is that he honours the minister in these words :—

कारणैर्बहुभिर्युक्तैः कामं नापकृतं त्वया ।
गुणेषु न तु मे द्वेषः भृङ्गारः प्रतिगृह्यताम् ॥

(Act IV, p. 120.)

"For many reasons worthy, (I consider that) truly no harm was wrought by you ; virtues I despise not ; pray, accept this golden vase."

Another point of note is that the two lovers, Vatsarāja and Vāsavadattā, do not appear on the stage at all though their love is of the essence. Bhāsa could well have allotted a scene to depict their first meeting as teacher and taught. But he rightly realized that it would detract from the adventures of Yaugandharāyaṇa and left the whole picture to the imagination of the audience. Humour, 'which is one of the greatest endowments of genius and the one which beyond all others should help to keep a work sane and wholesome,' is richly scattered throughout the play and Yaugandharāyaṇa's ready wit and sarcasm afford an intellectual treat.

The Five-Fold Structure of the Play.—The play is typical of a drama with its five-fold structure of the Initial Incident, Rising Action, Climax, Dénouement and Catastrophe. The attempt to capture Vatsarāja is the Initial Incident. Yaugandharāyaṇa's address to Sālaka—'सालक ! सज्जस्त्वम् ?' indicates the beginning of the Action (आरम्भः). The capture and Yaugandharāyaṇa's determination to liberate his master from the hands of the enemy, as embodied in his declaration—

यदि शत्रुबलग्रस्तो राहुणा चन्द्रमा इव ।
मोचयामि न राजानं नास्मि यौगन्धरायणः ॥

(I, 16.)

represent the Rising Action (यत्नः). The minister and his assistants, Rumaṇvān and the Vidūṣaka, entering the enemy's capital and making an elaborate plan of escape leading to the second oath taken by the minister mark the Climax of the play (प्राप्त्याशा), inspiring the hope that the party will

attain its object. The *pravesaka* (Introductory Scene) of the fourth act assures us of the success of the minister's plans, as a result of which the whole of Ujjayinī (the capital of Pradyota) became Kauśāmbī (the capital of Vatsarāja) except the rampart and the gates. This forms the Dénouement or Resolution of Action (नियताप्तिः). Finally, the Catastrophe or the Conclusion of the play (फलागमः) is stated in the announcement of the escape of Vatsarāja with Vāsavadattā—एष भर्ता वत्सराजो वासवदत्तां गृहीत्वा निर्गतः —and in the consolation offered by Mahāsena to his queen in proposing the celebration of the marriage in an effigy—क्षत्रधर्मेणोद्दिष्टस्ते दुहितुर्विवाहः । किमिदानीं हर्षकाले सन्तप्यसे ? तच्चित्रफलकस्थयोर्वत्सराजवासवदत्तयोर्विवाहोऽनुष्ठीयताम्—इति ॥

Criticism of the Plot.—The plot of the *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa* is not accepted by all critics as perfect. Witness the charge levelled by Bhāmaha in his *Kāvyālaṅkāra* (Ch. IV) where he cites the incident of the blue elephant trick as an instance of a literary defect called *Nyāyavirōdha.*[10] Prof. A. B. Keith, though dissociating himself from Bhāmaha, is obliged to remark—"Neither the *Partijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa* nor the *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* is construed in so clumsy a manner but in some cases the working of the plot is entirely open to criticism,"[11] and proceeds to illustrate the point by discussing some details connected with only the *Svapna-Vāsavadatta.* Prof. A. C. Woolner, while introducing the translation of the play,[12] notices, however, some defects in plot construction—"Indeed, there seems to be some inconsistency"; for "it is not quite clear what is supposed to have happened between Act ii and Act iii or between Act iii and Act iv." But it is some satisfaction that a note is added at the end to say that 'Dr. Sarup will not admit any inconsistency'.

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[10] *Vide* Introduction to *Pratijñā*, Tri. Edn. (1920), pp. 1-3; also A. B. Keith's *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 102.

[11] A. B. Keith's *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 113.

[12] *Thirteen Trivandrum Plays attributed to Bhāsa.* Translated into English by Prof. A. C. Woolner and Dr. Lakshman Sarup. Published for the University of the Punjab (1930) by the Oxford University Press.

The music lesson (the exact period of whose occurrence is one of the points raised) comes about certainly between the third and the fourth acts. While considering the plot of this play, it is important to keep out of mind the versions contained in other books dealing with the legend. For Bhāsa many a time deviates from the traditional story as found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṅgraha*, which are but later versions of the great original. The *Kathāsaritsāgara*,[13] for instance, tells of Udayana being anxious to marry Vāsavadattā as much as Mahāsena himself was to marry her to him. In the play, the latter aspect is emphasized and the former not even indicated, nay, quite ignored, probably deliberately.[14]

At the end of the second act Udayana is a prisoner of war lying wounded in a precarious condition in the palace of Mahāsena who is filled with remorse at the fatal turn his plans have taken. Hence, he orders that the captive should be treated with every consideration. It must have taken a considerable time for the wounds to heal and the patient to recover completely. One day, perhaps when he was yet convalescing, he sees the princess being borne in a palanquin in front of the prison. This is the first sight he ever has of her. It is, of course, a case of love at first sight. Then taking the prison for a pleasure garden he begins to think of making overtures to his lady-love. Meanwhile, Yaugandharāyaṇa, Rumaṇvān and Vasantaka are busy with their scheme. The details of the plan and the gradual success thereof are being reported to the king in prison from time to time through the Vidūṣaka and it is at the very last

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[13] *Vide* Appendix to *Vasavadatta* translated by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar (Ox. Uni. Press, 1923), p. 86. *Cf.* also *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, II. ii. 5 and 30—
कन्या वासवदत्तेयं तद्योग्यैव सुता मम । निसर्गशत्रुर्नार्थ्यो मे मानी स च न याचते ॥
. . . . यौगन्धरायणस्येति श्रुत्वा राजसुतां नृपः । प्रदध्यौ मनसा हृष्टः स्मरो हि ज्ञानलोचनः ॥

[14] *Cf.* also Introduction to *Priyadarśika* (Col. Uni. Indo-Iranian Series), p. lxxii—"There had been no previous negotiations by Udayana for Vāsavadattā's hand."

stage of giving effect to the plan that the king, who is mad with love for the princess, refuses to go without his beloved. Yaugandharāyaṇa decides to achieve that end also. He, however, puts the plan into execution as already contemplated with only this change that Udayana need not bolt away on the subdued Nalāgiri.[15] Thus, 'the next day,' Nalāgiri is infuriated. Pradyota seeks Udayana's assistance, restoring to him his *ghoṣavatī* with whose help he tames the beast. In grateful recognition of his services Udayana is granted his freedom[16] but is requested to live in the palace and to instruct the princess in music. The request is made and accepted solemnly before the sacred fire.[17] Then, on a convenient day, the escape is effected.

Prof. Woolner does not seem to be convinced about the perfectness of the plot because he would not give independent consideration to it. He hastens to think of the 'usual account' too often ;[18] and the result is 'inconsistency'. Again, there is the question—'When did Udayana recover his famous lute ?' Prof. Woolner seems to think that he was in possession of it even before Yaugandharāyaṇa sent the final message to the king regarding the execution of the plan the following day, whereas in strictness of fact it could be that the instrument was restored at the time when Nalāgiri ran amuck. The supposition that the king was in possession of the lute even before makes it, no doubt, probable that the music lesson was already a reality. But it is to be noted

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[15] Not a female elephant as mentioned in the introduction under review. It is evidently an error (see p. 2, para 4).

[16] Suggested in Act IV, p. 122—न पुनर्बद्धस्ते स्वामी.

[17] यदग्निसाक्षिकं महासेनस्य दुहितरं शिष्यां प्रतिगृह्य

(*Ibid.*, p. 121.)

[18] P. 3, lines 6-8. 'Lead up to the well-known incident of the music lesson —in which Udayana introduced behind a curtain as a teacher of the lute is taunted by his pupil and lifts the curtain'. P. 4, lines 6-7, 'Indeed the usual account is that Yaugandharāyaṇa arranged it'. *Ibid.*, lines 12-14, 'It involves a modification of the usual account of the music lesson as the occasion of the first meeting of the lovers.'

that this supposition is based apparently on the misunderstanding of the expression—'सहव्यापन्नां घोषवतीं हस्तगतां कृत्वा' which Prof. Woolner translates 'grasping the lute, which shares his sorrows'. But a more accurate translation would be 'taking possession of the lute which suffered calamity simultaneously with him',[19] meaning that it was taken away as booty just when he was taken away as captive. There is no doubt, therefore, that Vatsarāja continued to be a prisoner until his services were required to tame the elephant; that, as a return, he earned his freedom and that the music lesson came about only after that. In the interval between Acts II and III, Udayana is supposed to be recovering under the tender care of Mahāsena, and Yaugandharāyaṇa with his assistants has established secret communication with their king and has been planning for his escape. Between Acts III and IV Nalāgiri is infuriated and tamed; Vatsarāja, freed from prison, agrees to be tutor to the princess and finally comes the elopement.[20]

Prof. Woolner would have us speculate on another point —'Is it possible that Act II is by a different hand?' How this question arises one is at a loss to know. The question is sufficiently answered when the Professor himself observes, "At the same time, it must be admitted that the Court Scene is clever and if it be by a second hand that second hand was skilful and reminds us of the delicate handling of several scenes in *The Vision af Vasavadatta*'. If the several scenes in *The Vision of Vasavadatta* be from the pen of Bhāsa, then there is no doubt that the second act of our play is also from the

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[19] Knowing fully that the wronged elephant could be subdued only by means of the lute, Pradyota has but to make it over to Udayana at the time. *Cf.* T. G. Sastri's Com.—'सहव्यापन्नां स्वामिना सह ग्रहणविपत्तिं प्राप्ताम्'

[20] *Cf.* Commentary by Pandit T. G. Sastri, Tri. Edn., pp. 102-103. Campare also Introduction to the *Priyadarśika* (Col. Un. Indo-Iranian Series), p. lxii, "It is through an accident that the prisoner sees Vāsavadattā and falls in love with her; and he apparently obtains his position as her music teacher only after he has tamed the royal elephant Nalāgiri in consequence of a scheme devised by Yaugandharāyaṇa."

same source. Truly, as Dr. Sarup has thought, "Acts III and IV form a harmonious whole with Act II and give a logical development of the course of events in continuation of Act II." The nature of the first two acts is one of exposition. The first act acquaints the audience with the position of Vatsarāja and the second with that of Mahāsena. Each party has its own fate to suffer; its own plans to achieve. For the logical development of the plot and the happy resolution thereof, as we witness in the last act, the second is as indispensable as the first. And an act which has so much in common—too patent to need mention—with the rest not only of the play itself but of the whole group in thought, style and diction; an act which displays remarkable subtlety in the construction of the plot and striking realism in the portraiture of life; an act, again, which reveals the dramatist's conception of an ideal man,[21] nay, which reveals the very personality of the dramatist,[22] can hardly be the work of a person other than Bhāsa.

(*To be continued.*)

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[21] *Cf.* II, 4.

[22] Consider, for example, the nobility and benevolence (अनुक्रोश) infused into the character of Mahāsena who, according to the originals, is rather a cruel monarch. He is referred to, for instance, in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, as क्रूरविजयी (II, ii, 45), *i.e.*, a conqueror who deprives the enemy of his kingdom as well as his wealth. *Vide* Commentary on Raghu, IV, 43.

TWO DRAVIDIC PROBLEMS

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.

I. The Druta Classification in Literary Telugu.

To the student of comparative Dravidian linguistics, no topic of Telugu phonology is more full of historical significance than the one which deals with what is known as the *druta* category of words in the literary dialect. The uniqueness of this catagory lies in the fact that all words belonging thereto possess a final consonantal *n* which in sentence-constructions may itself undergo, and bring about, assimilative changes. Into this category have been brought together words with final *n* belonging to different morphological types. The rules relating to this category have formed the subject of classification and discussion in all Telugu grammatical studies from the time of *Ândhra-śabda-cintâmaṇi* the earliest grammar of Telugu, attributed to Nannaya) downwards; and these rules have received meticulous application in all Telugu compositions wherever the literary dialect is employed. These rules had already developed into something in the nature of a linguistico-stylistic convention or *cliché* in the period of the earliest extant literary inscriptions and compositions, and we know of no linguistic stage in Telugu anterior to this. The conventionalization of these rules by scholars and literary men may, in some instances, have resulted in a rigidity foreign to the actual conditions of the living speech; but we shall see below that in quite a large number of instances the *druta n* was not of artificial origin but was a part of the heritage of Telugu either directly handed down to it from the parent speech or modified by it in accordance with its own particular "genius".

The question of the origin of the *druta n* in the words concerned has so far not been enquired into by any scholar, Indian or European. Investigations into this question have primarily to depend upon the comparison of the Telugu instances with cognates of other Dravidian speeches, in as much

as the available material in Telugu offers little internal historical evidence of the development of the *druta n*. In a few cases the comparison of the literary forms with those of the popular dialect (as used in the living speech and in some of the inscriptions) may be helpful in clarifying ideas; but a proper consideration of the question of the nature of the *druta n* would become possible only through comparisons with other Dravidian speeches.

The historical and comparative standpoint was foreign to the outlook of old Telugu grammarians; and their treatment of this problem has been confined exclusively to the interpretative and classificatory aspects. Among European students of Telugu, C. P. Brown, whose valuable pioneer work in the field of Telugu lexicology deserves to be recognized with gratitude, was not a comparativist; further, he was too little interested in the literary dialect to bestow adequate attention on the *rationale* of the *druta* problem. Caldwell grievously misunderstood the nature and the significance of *druta n* when he described it as a hiatus-filler (*Comp. Gr.*, p. 175), and dismissed the entire problem in a few sentences. Arden's work, excellent in its own way, is purely a descriptive treatise and is mainly concerned with the popular dialect of Telugu.

The Druta Prakrtamulu

The following groups evidence the *druta n*:—

(*a*) Inflexional particles:

(i) Accusative ending *-an*.

(ii) Locative-instrumental ending *-an*.

(iii) Dative-instrumental ending *-kin*, *-kun*.

(*b*) Certain post-positional terminations, some of the more important among which are given below:

(i) *cêtan*, *cên* used with an instrumental force.

(ii) *tōḍan*, *tôn*, used with an instrumental force.

(iii) *mayan*, *main*, used with an instrumental force.

(iv) *koṛakun*, used with a dative signification.

(v) *valanan*, *valnan*, *vallan*, used ablatively.

(vi) *lônan*, *lôn*, *lôpalan*, used locatively,

(*c*) Pronouns:

(i) First person singular *ên* and *nên*.

(ii) Reflexive *tân*.

(*d*) Tense endings:

(i) First person singular past *-tin*.

(ii) Third person past, singular and plural *-ên*.

(iii) First person singular indefinite *-edan*, *-udun*.

(iv) Third person indefinite *-un*, *-eḍun*, *-eḍin*

(v) First person singular negative *-an*.

(*e*) Other verb-endings:

(i) Present adverbial participle *-cun*.

(ii) Infinitive participle *-an*.

(iii) Conditional *-inan*.

(iv) Optative *-tan*, *-eḍun*.

(v) Sequential *-ḍun*.

(*f*) The *samuccaya* or conjunctive particle *-un*.

(*g*) A number of *avyayas* or particles which are case-modified nouns, or old infinitives of verbs, or old words with a *samuccaya* ending: all these are used with fixed and well-defined meanings in the literary dialect.

(*h*) The *druta* features are also associated with compounds formed with Telugu literary bases, like *prā̃-* (old), *lē̃-* (young), etc. Similar *druta* characteristics appear in certain other compounds like *mun-goṅgu*, *kañ-jikā̃ṭi*, etc.

Druta Sandhi

In combinative positions of sentence-constructions, the *druta n*, as a rule, combines with the initial vowel of the immediately following word, wherever such a vowel appears. In the following instances, however, the *druta n* is optionally dropped in such circumstances:—

(i) Datival *-kin* and *-kun*.

(ii) Post-position *-koṟakun*.

(iii) Present adverbial participle ending *-cun*.

(iv) A few *avyayas* like *ī̃kan*.

When followed by words with initial consonants, the *druta n* may

(i) be dropped before voiced plosives and sounds other than plosives;

(ii) be represented by the *ara-sunna* or by the *niṇḍu-sunna* before plosives (according to certain circumstances, for which, see below) which plosives (if surds) become voiced in the process;

(iii) become *saṃśleṣa* (in script) before original surd plosives (which become voiced in the process), except in the case of the personal pronouns *ên*, *nên* and *tân*;

(iv) become *svatvamu* in comparatively recent stages of the evolution of the language by incorporating an enunciative, whenever followed by consonants; and

(v) in poetry, be dropped sometimes in final positions characterized by pauses.

(*a*) Inflexional Particles

(i) The accusative ending in Telugu is formed of a particle with final *n*, the initial vocalic portion of which appears to vary with the character of the final vowel of the noun-base. The exact value of the original particle may have been *-an*. The history of this particle goes back to a very remote past in Dravidian in as much as cognate accusative particles appear in different Dravidian dialects separated by wide cultural and chronological divergences among themselves.

Kannaḍa: old *-am*, *-an*, mediæval *-an*, modern *-an*(*nu*),
Tuḷu *-n*(*ш*), *-n*(*u*), as in *maronu* (tree), *gellшnш* (branch), etc.
Gôṇḍi -(*u*)*n*, *-n*, as in *mars-t-un* (axe), *marri-n* (son),
Kuru*kh* *-n*, as in *kukkosin*, the accusative form of *kukkos* (boy).

The Telugu accusative particle is obviously related to this pan-Dravidian ending.

The *druta n* of the accusative ending of Telugu is thus seen to be an organic part of the old heritage of Telugu.

(ii) The locative particle (as distinguished from locative post-positions with which we shall deal later on in the course

of this essay) appears to be *-an*, represented in instances like the following :

(*a*) *cûtamunan* (at the game of dice)

grihamunan (at the house)

The grammars usually describe *-nan* as the locative particle for "inanimate" singular nouns (with final *-u*) of this type. The examination of inflexional particles and increments from a general Dravidic point of view reveals to us that the actual locative particle here is *-an* and that the *-n-* preceding it stands for the inflexional increment[1] which appears in other case-forms of this Telugu type and in words of other Dravidian speeches.

(*b*) The Telugu *aupa-vibhakti* verbs which embody very ancient assimilative changes in the structure of their inflexional endings show *-an* in the locative (and in the instrumental) :

ûr-an (at the village) from the noun-base *ûr* ;

kâl-an (at the leg) from *kâl* ;

kaṇṭan (at the eye) from the base *kaṇ* with which the old neuter inflexional increment *-t-* and the locative *-an* have been combined ;

iṇṭan (at the house) from *il* (house).

We know that the inflexional increment does not appear in all cases and that in instances like *ûr-an*, the locative particle directly appears after the noun-base.

(*c*) Further, the old locative *-an* appears in a number of other instances in old texts, *e.g.*,

puramu veli-n[2] (outside the town)—Bhârata, Nalôpâkhyâna.

madi-n (in the mind)—Bhârata, Nalôpâkhyâna.

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[1] *Vide* my "Post-positions in Dravidian".

[2] The ending in these instances is usually described as *saptamyârtham-iccu dvitîyântamu* (Accusative ending with a locative meaning) but a particle of this kind with a locative force is so frequent and common in the old texts in such instances and in *avyayas* (where the locative signification has suffered discoloration) that one cannot help conceding to it the individuality which its structural resemblance to the locative particle of *ûr-an*, etc., warrants.

... ..*Kuruvibhuṇḍu kâryacinta munīgi*......(the Lord of the Kurus, having become immersed in thought.....) Bhârata, Udyogaparvam, § 16) where *kâryacinta*[*n*] shows the locative *-an*.

......*mrânan jiguru voḍayunu* (shoots sprout from the tree) (Udyogaparvam, § 61) where *mrânan* contains the old locative.

(*d*) The same ending *-an* with a locative force exists in a number of *avyayas* like *eḍan*, *tôḍan*, *mîdan*, etc.

All these instances demonstrate the existence of an old Telugu particle *-an*.

I would suggest the following analogies for this particle from other Dravidian dialects :

(1) Kannaḍa *-al* used as a locative particle in very old inscriptional forms like *sthaladal*, *artha-d-al*, etc. (cited by Kittel in his *Gr*.).

(2) Kannaḍa *-al* with a definite " local " signification in words of direction like *mûḍal* (east), *teṅkal* (south), *paḍuval* (west), *attal* (there), *ittal* (here), etc.

(3) Kannaḍa locative particle *-al*(*i*) connected with (1) above.

(4) *Cf*. also the old affix *-al* which in the southern speeches is employed to form verbal nouns : Tamil *śey-al* (the act of doing), *kâval* (protecting or protection, etc.), Kann. *uḻal* (ploughing), *paḍal* (lying down), *aḻal* (grieving), etc.

As a change of *l* to *n* in such contexts is not impossible in Dravidian (*cf*. the alternative third case endings of Tamil : *-âl* and *-ân*), and as a very probable change of *-al* to *-an* (see below, for discussion) could be postulated for the *tumannarthaka* ending of literary Telugu itself, it might not be unjustified to envisage the view that the Telugu locative particle *-an* is related to, if not actually derived from, an older *-al* appearing with a locative or " local " signification in the different Dravidian speeches mentioned above.

(iii) In the Telugu datival *-kin* and *-kun* (where the variation in the character of the vowel *-i-* or *-u-* depends upon vocalic harmony with the final vowel of the noun-base), the

final *-n* appears to be something unique in Telugu, in as much as none of the cognates in the other dialects show a nasal in organic positions. The datival ending with the consonant *-k-* (or its voiced counterpart *-g-*) exists in most Dravidian dialects :

Tamil *-kk(u)*.
Kannaḍa *-ku*, *-gu*, *-ke*, *-ge*.
Tuḷu *-kuı*, *-guı*, *-ku*, *gu*
Kûi *-ki*
Kuru*kh* *-ge*
Brâhûi *-ki* (for the sake of) (Sir Denys Bray's *Gr.*, p. 53).

In none of these cases we find *-n* as an organic part of the dative ending.

The *druta -n* of the Telugu ending should therefore be a unique feature of this dialect.

That this *-n* was probably not a permanent part of the datival ending originally, is indicated by the *sandhi* rule that it may optionally be dropped before the initial vowels of the words that follow it in combinative positions. (See *supra*.)

Though the origin of this *druta n* cannot be traced with any precision, one may suggest that here we have to do with an old *samuccaya* particle. We shall see below that the *samuccaya* particle *-un* of Telugu does form part of words like *īkan* (yet), *ellan* (all) and also of the present adverbial participle with *-cun* ; and it is very significant that these are also cases where *-n* may be dropped before vowels in *druta sandhi* (see *supra*) exactly like the *n* of the datival ending. In view of this, the final *n* of the Telugu datival ending probably stands for an old *samuccaya* particle.

The inherent idea of association implied in the datival case-relationship might very well have justified the original introduction of the *samuccaya* particle; subsequently the distinctive *samuccaya* meaning was probably lost sight of. Though similar instances of the permanent incorporation of the *samuccaya* particle in the *datival* ending are not available from other dialects, we do have parallels in the

ablative instrumental *indam* of old Kannaḍa and in the ablative *irundum* of middle and new Tamil :

Old Kannaḍa *ind-am*, appearing as *inda*, *inde* in later Kannaḍa.

Tamil *vîṭṭil-irund-um vandân* (he came from the house), where *irund-um* may alternatively appear without the *samuccaya um*.

(*b*) **Post-positions**[1]

Some of the more important post-positions are case-modified forms of nouns.

Both *cêtan* and *cên* are found in the oldest texts and both are employed to denote the idea of "agency", *e.g.*,—

Hanumantani-cêta sîta cûda[*n*] *baḍênu* (Sita was seen by Hanumant) ;

Râmuḍu bâṇamu-cêta vâlini gûlcênu (Rama slew Vâli with a *bâṇa*).

In *Bhârata* occur forms like *damayanti-cên* (by Damayanti,) *krisṇu-cên*, etc.

The difference in usage between *cêtan* and *cên* on the one hand, and *tôḍan* and *tôn* on the other (for the latter group) also used in the so-called "third case," see below), corresponds more or less to that between the use in Tamil of *-âl* (or *-ân*) and *ôḍu* ; Tamil *-âl* or *-ân* generally expresses "instrumentality" or "agency" and Tamil *-ôḍu* denotes "associativeness" (*sahârthamu*, or in Tamil grammatical terminology *uḍanigaḷci*, see Nannûl, Sûtra 297).

(i) *Cêta*[*n*] is the old *aupa-vibhakti* locative of the noun *cêy* 'hand', where *-t-* is the characteristic inflexional increment and *-an* is the old locative termination with which we have dealt with above.

The shorter form *cên* may have been a modified locative case-form of *cêy* without the inflexional increment ; this matter

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1 Some of these post-positions appear as "independent inflected words" in old texts ; this would show that the "hardened" post-positional significations must have gradually cropped up in the course of the evolution of the language.

could not be made clearer because both *cêtan* and *cên* already occur in the oldest extant texts.

(ii) *tôḍan* and *tôn* generally express *sahârthamu* or "associativeness", and they occur with this force in the old texts:

vilâsambu-tôn.

nija rûpambu-tôn (with his own form).

veḍka-tôḍan (with joy).

tôḍu (aid, help) is a noun in old and new Telugu; it is also employed as a constituent of compound verbs like *tôḍu-kôn-*, *tôḍu-paḍ-*, *tôḍu-tecc-* on the one hand, and as a part of old *samâsas* like *tôḍa[n]- buṭṭu* (brother or sister) on the other. For the use of compounds with *tôḍu* in *Bhârata*, *cf.* *tôḍu-têcc-* in stanza 16 of Viduranîti: *vā̃ḍunu satvaram-buga[n] jani-y-atani[n] dôḍ-tecci kānpiñcinan* (and when immediately he produced Vidura, having gone and *fetched* him); *tôḍ-koni teccen dana-talli satyavatinin* (fetched his mother Satyavati).

-tôn is as ancient as *-tôḍan* in the extant material, so far as we know; probably it is a contraction of *tôḍan.*[1]

As for the post-positional form *tôḍan* of Telugu, it is an old locative (with *-an*) of the noun *tôḍu* (help, aid).

Another form connected with *tôḍu* and occasionally employed in similar contexts in the old texts is *tôḍutan*:

ôriyaṇā̃kuva tôḍutan-unikiyaridi

I would consider this form to be the locative (with *-an*) of an old *tôḍuta* formed of *tôḍu* and the affix *-ta*; one may compare *tolutan* (at the beginning) for a similar formation.

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[1] It is remarkable that Brâhûi, the Dravidian dialect of North-West India possesses a "conjunctive" affix *-to* denoting "associativeness" as in *î nâ mâra-to kâva* (I your *son-with* shall go);
kanâ tûfak na ilum-to-n e (my gun my *brother-with* is).
Sir Denys Bray has already pointed out the remarkable similarity of the Brâhûi and the Telugu post-positions; he observes (p. 12, *Brâhûi Grammar*): "Not only is *-tô*, the abbreviated form of the Telugu conjunctive identical with the suffix in Brâhûi, the longer form of *tôḍu* seems to be preserved in the Brâhûi full word *tud* 'accompanying', 'in company with'."

(iii) *main* and *meyan* are post-positions employed after 'inanimate' nouns, with the force of *tôḍan, tôn.* These occur in old texts:

nêrpu-main (with cleverness).
bhakti-main (with devotion).
i-m-meyyan (in this manner).
samprîti-meyan-unnavârê ? (do they live happily ?)

mey and *mênu* are old Telugu nouns meaning 'body' [*cf.* §19 of Viduranîti in *Bhārata* : *mênun nippula*[*n*] *boralinayaṭḷayu*]. I have tried to show elsewhere that this Telugu word is a cognate of Tamil *mey*, Kann. *mey* 'body', the nasal *-n-* in *ménu* having had its origin in Telugu as in *cênu* 'field' beside Tamil *śey*.

I would regard the Telugu post-positions *mey-an* and *mai-n* as old locatives of *may*, *mey* with the signification 'body'. The meanings of the post-positions are derivable from the primary meaning 'body,' exactly as the power of forming abstract nouns has become associated with the particles *-mi,-me* connected with the word *mey.*

(iv) *koṛa-kun* (for the sake of) is the dative case-form of the Telugu noun *koṛa* with the meanings of 'use', 'profit'. *koṛa-kun* is used in the literary speech in the sense of 'for the benefit of', etc., as in *janakuḍu râmuni-koṛakun sîtan-iccenu.*

(v) *valan-an* (by, on account of) [> *valnan* > *vallan*] could be explained as an old locative of the noun *valanu* 'side', 'manner', 'grace'.

(vi) *lôn* and *lônan* appear with a locative force in the earliest extant texts.

Though it cannot be doubted that these forms are locatives of old Telugu bases allied to Tamil *uḷ*, Kann. *oḷ* (inside, etc.), it is not easy to determine precisely the lines of development along which *lôn* and *lônan* have been formed.

I would suggest that *lônan* is a locative with *-an*, of Telugu *lôn* (inside, mind), the aphæresized, accent-modified cognate of Tamil *uḷḷam* (mind, inside). *lô* with the meaning 'mind' also occurs in Telugu : *cf. taga*[*n*] *nî ló*[*n*] *ûhîmpumu* (consider well in your mind), §95 of Viduranîti, *Bhârata.*

The post-position *lô-n* may itself have been derived as the locative of *lô*.

Lôpalan is another connected form with the meaning 'amongst': *i-k-koṛa gâmula-lôpalan okkaṭi nī citta-vrittin-ôndenô ?* (Has any one among these evil qualities gained possession of your mind ?) ; *talâcen hridayambu lôpalan* (reflected within the mind).

(*c*) **Personal Pronouns**

The personal pronouns old *ên*, new *nên* (both of which mean 'I') and *tân* have direct cognates with final *-n* in most Dravidian dialects :

Telugu	*ên, nên*	*tân*
Tamil	*yân, nân*	*tân*
Kannaḍa	*ân, nân*	*tân*
Tuḷu	*yên(u), yân(u)*	*tân(u)*
Kûi	*ân(u)*	*tânu*
Kuru*kh*	*ên*	*tân*
Malto	*én*	*tân*
Brahûi	—	*tên*

The Telugu pronouns *ên*, *nên* and *tân* are directly allied to the widespread Dravidian forms given above.

(*d*) **Tense-Endings**

(i) The first person singular past ending in old Telugu is *-tin*[1] of which the more modern representative is *-tini* appearing as *svatvamu* with *-i* following, instead of *-u* on account of vocalic harmony characteristic of Telugu in this and similar contexts. That *-t(i)-* of this ending represents the past-denoting particle and that *-n* is a part of the pronominal

[1] In this connection, it may be noted that Nannaya's *Bhârata* shows the ending *-tin-in* (*druta*, of course, as in *aṇṭinin*) beside *-tin*. Similarly, we have an accusative ending *-nan* (instead of *-an*) as in *satyavatinin*, *sîtanun*, and a *samuccaya* ending *unun* (instead of *-un*) as in *adiyun-un-gâka*. The evolution and the origin of the *druta* endings in general, discussed in this essay, would tend to show that these peculiar cases employed in the *Bhârata* have a *druta* superadded to the original *druta* (in its *svatvamu* form). The pronominal portion of the cognate past ending of the other dialects, and the *samuccaya -um* of other South Dravidian speeches clearly indicate that the original forms in Telugu should have been *-t-in* (for the past ending of the first person singular) and *-un* (for the *samuccaya*).

ending would be clear when we compare the similar past terminations of other Dravidian speeches:

Tamil *śey-d.én* (I did).

Kannaḍa *gey-d-en(u)* (I did).

Kûi *tak-(i)t-ẽ* (I walked), where the nasal of the pronominal ending is reduced to the mere nasalization of the vowel.

Gôṇḍi *vank-t-an* (I spoke).

Kuru*kh* *kam-c-k-an* (I made) where *-c-* (< old *t?*) and *-k-* appear to be the affixes conferring the past signification.

(ii) The third person singular (for *mahat* and *amahat* nouns) and plural (for *amahat* nouns) of the old literary past, show the ending *-én* annexed to the base directly, as in *koṭṭ-ên* (struck), *cepp-ên* (said), *etc.* For *kon-* (to bring), *an-* (to say) and *paḍ-* (to fall), the third person forms show *-i-* before the ending *-ên*: *koni-y-ên* (brought), *ani-y-ên* (said), *paḍi-y-ên* (fell). The affiliations of these forms to those of other speeches are not clear; the past affix *-t-* appearing in the other 'persons' of this tense is conspicuous by its absence in the third personal forms. It is difficult to find out if *-i-* of *ani-y-ên*, etc., is really a past affix.

The appearance of the same ending *-ên* for the singular (of all nouns) and the plural (of *amahat* nouns) would tend to indicate that *-én* may not have been pronominal in origin.

(iii) There are two different sets of forms in literary Telugu denoting what is described as the "Indefinite" tense (or *taddharmakârtha* in the terminology of Telugu grammars).

One set[1] uses *-ud-* (as the past affix annexed to the base) and pronominal terminations for all forms except the third person singular (for all nouns) and plural (for *amahat* nouns) where neither *-ud-* nor pronominal endings are found but *-un-*

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[1] These two sets of the indefinite are used in the classics with different tense-significations. The *-ud-* set is frequently used with a present-future signification and occasionally with a past meaning. The other set (with *-ed-*) is described as a present form in Bhâṣâbbûṣaṇa; it is often also employed to denote the future idea of 'will' and 'would' with an implication of condition in it.

is found annexed immediately to the base (*cf. koṭṭ-ud-un*, the first person singular form with *koṭṭ-un*, the third person form); while the other set shows *-ed-* with pronominal endings for all forms except the third person singular (all nouns) and plural (*amahat* nouns) in which latter we find *-eḍ-un*[1] or *-eḍ-in*.

a. The first person singular endings of the forms belonging to these two past types are *-d-un* and *-ed-an*. The final *-n* (*druta*) of these endings very probably represents the first personal singular pronominal termination appearing in other Telugu tense forms. We are led to think so because these endings are characteristically limited to the singular of the first person; and further some of the other persons (first person plural, second person singular, second person plural) are marked off from the first person singular by characteristic pronominal endings of undoubted Dravidic origin.

β. The third person endings of the two types are respectively *-un* and *eḍun*, *eḍin*. These endings are used in the singular in connection with all nouns, *mahat* and *amahat*, and in the plural in connection with all *amahat* nouns.

The use of these forms in both the singular and the plural (even though it be confined to *amahat* nouns in the latter) is peculiar; this fact would imply that the endings may not contain a pronominal element; for, if they did, the plural ending should have been different.

Caldwell may be correct in connecting Telugu *-un* here with Tamil *-um* appearing in the Tamil tense with *-um*. The similarity in the functions of the Telugu and the Tamil forms and the very plausible phonetic correspondence of Telugu *-n* here to Tamil *-m* have been relied upon by Caldwell in postulating the relationship.

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[1] The future-aoristic meanings of *-eḍun*, *-eḍin*, and the fact that these endings appear in the singular and the plural (in the latter for *amahat* nouns) are features parallel to those of *-un*, the third personal ending of the other indefinite tense-type. As we have noted, *-un* is cognate with Tamil *-um* (of the Tamil aoristic tense) and ultimately related (as suggested by Caldwell, p. 484, *Gr.*) to the *samuccaya*; is it possible that *-eḍ-un*, *-eḍ-in* contain an element similar to *-un*?

As for Telugu *eḍ-un* and *eḍ-in*, no cognates are available in the other Dravidian speeches (so far as I can see), and no definitive suggestions can be made about the character or origin of final *-un* and *-in* in these endings.

(iv) The negative aorist first person singular of Telugu with final *-an*, has cognates with final *-n* in other dialects :

Tam. *śeyy-ê-n* (I do not, or did not, do)
Kann. *gey-a-n* (,, ,,)
Kûi *tak-ä-n(u)* (,, ,,)

The final *-n* in all these cases is a part of the old first personal pronominal ending ; and the *druta n* of the Telugu ending has obviously had the same origin.

(e) Other verb-endings

(i) The present adverbial participle of old Telugu *śatrarthaka* is marked by the ending *-cun*, the corresponding ending in the popular dialect of Telugu being *-tu* or *-tû*. This participle is employed to denote either 'contemporaneous action' or 'continuity of action', as in the following :—

Literary Telugu *cûcu-cun bôvucunnavâḍu* (he proceeds observing) ; *pâḍu-cun bôyen* (he went singing).

nâku rêp-accaṭi panulu ceppuvā̃ḷan-anucu[n] janiye (he went away saying "I shall communicate to you to-morrow the news from over there") [Viduranîti §18].

Popular Telugu *cêstû unnâḍu* (he is going on doing it) ; *âyana bhôjanamu cêstu, nâto maṭlâḍinâḍu* (he spoke to me whilst taking food).

(*To be continued.*)

HEAVENLY MANSIONS OF THE HINDUS

By S. Srikantaya, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from Vol. XXIII, No. 1)

An introductory account of the heavenly mansions, more particularly with reference to the mythology of stars and the Zodiac has been given in the previous pages and it is now proposed to deal with the constellations generally referred to therein.

To the denizens of the Earth, the starry heavens appear to revolve round the axis of the Earth, which when produced in a straight line meets the Pole Star in the north. This is perhaps responsible for the ancient notion that the Sun moved round the Earth. In the course of its motion through space, each star describes somewhat of a circle, a path which is smaller or greater in proportion to its distance from the axis round which it revolves. At or near the poles, the stars always appear at the horizon or overhead and rarely appear to change their position appreciably. This is due to the elevation of the polar axis. Consequently, stars at or near the poles never appear to rise or to set, situated constantly in visible parts of the sky and outside the limits of the Earth's curvature. These stars are, therefore, known as circumpolar stars, and to this class belong Canopus in the Argo Navis, the Great Bear, Little Bear, Cassiopeia and Perseus, amongst others. With regard to the stars near the celestial equator, these imaginary circles, however, sometimes get below the horizon and hence disappear from view.

The changes in the position of stars as we observe them are not due to actual motions in the groups of stars themselves but are merely apparent and are mainly explainable with reference to the motion of the Earth round its axis and its revolution round the Sun. The motion of the solar system and the movement of the stars in space would not considerably add to the difference in our observation, except

for the Earth's motion, to such an appreciable extent as at present.

The various heavenly constellations as we know them are grouped and dealt with, with reference to the principal star in each constellation and are arranged for purposes of convenience, beginning from those overhead and going to the several directions, east, west, north or south. The ecliptic is the apparent path of the Sun in the sky and called the zodiac from the names of animals given to the twelve solar mansions comprised in this circle. And the 27 (or 28) lunar mansions are distributed in practically equal proportions amongst these twelve. In the course of the account of the solar and lunar mansions that follows will also be found discussed several well-known non-zodiacal constellations.

Mesha (Aries)

The solar sign of Aries (Mesha) represents the male goat, is reddish yellow, lustreless, Lord of the east and of Vysya caste. It is between the well-known constellations of Andromeda and the Pleiades (Krittika). Delphinus or the Dolphin is also observed in this sign, in the shape of a kite with a tail. The sign is marked by two first magnitude stars. The lunar mansion of Aśvini consisting of three stars and having the appearance of a horse's face is in this sign. Its presiding deities are Aśvins. A nymph, considered as the mother of the Aśvins and the wife of the Sun, who concealed herself in the form of a mare, is also said to have been represented here. Hindu mythology also regards Aśvini as an earth goddess, as a mare into which the Sun breathed producing Aśvinī Kumāras, the Twins of the Hindu *Zodiac*, the physicians of the Gods, and seemingly corresponding to Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux. This mansion succeeded Krittika (Pleiades) as leader about 400 B.C. Aśvini is the first month of the Hindu lunar year and the sixth solar Hindu month and the Sun is then in Kanyā (Tam. Puraṭṭāśī). α, β, γ Arietis are associated with Aśvinī, being Hamal, Sheratan and Mesartin respectively. Hamal or α Arietis is a

yellow star situate in the forehead of Aries called ram's following horn, from Al Hamal which means sheep. β Arietis is a pearl white star on the horn of the ram and γ Arietis is a double star, one of the earliest double stars discovered.

Above the sign Aries is the Triangulum, one of the ancient 48 constellations and a group of three stars below the triangle which once formed a separate constellation known as Musca or the fly and which now represents the Ram's head are α, β and γ Arietis. That is how the second lunar mansion of Bharaṇī came to be identified with a Muscæ. It is variously regarded as 35 Arietis, 35, 39 and 41 Arietis, or 35 with 41, 33, 39 Arietis. Bharaṇī is, however, so called because it protects. It is triangular in shape and has three stars, its presiding deity being Yama.

Vrishabha (Taurus)

East of Mesha is the second solar sign Vrishabha, Taurus or Bull, Krittika and Rōhiṇī forming the tips of its two horns. Pleiades and Hyades are two conspicuous constellations in this sign. Vrishabha is white in colour, of the Vysya caste, belongs to Agni Tattva and is Lord of the South.

Krittika, the third lunar mansion is in this sign. It is 23, η Tauri or Alcyone who, according to Greek mythology, is said to represent the Pleiad, the daughter of Atlas and Pleione, who became the mother of Hyrieus, by Neptune; it is a greenish yellow star and brightest of the Pleiades group, situated on the shoulders of the bull. In the Pleiades six stars are seen by the naked eye and hundreds through the telescope. Krittika with six stars has the appearance of a flame and it might also mean a group of six stars. Agni is the presiding deity. The six stars are represented as nymphs who acted as nurses to Kārtikēya or god of war.

Pleiades is referred to in ancient and modern literature. Job IX, 9; XXXVIII—31, 32; Amos V 8; Homer etc. It is also associated with the religion of the primitive peoples. Ancient monuments were so constructed as to point to the

Pleiades when rising or setting. The Feast of Isis falls on the 17th November and the Australian aborigines dance in honour of the sylvan deities. The nine bright stars, in order of magnitude, which form a really physical group, including many double stars, are: 1. Alcyone, 2. Electra, 3. Atlas, 4. Maia, close to a double star, 5. Merope, 6. Taygeta, 7. Pleione, 8. Celæno and 9. Asterope, the whole being wrapped in a cloud of nebulous matter. As regards Pleione, it may also be observed that Greek writers refer to it as having disappeared at the time of the Trojan War, disappointed, perhaps, as Ovid says, owing to the circumstance that no God married her as her sister was married.

The junction star between Krittika and Rōhiṇī is frequently called the Hen. Rōhiṇī is the fourth lunar mansion. It means a girl of nine years, by worshipping whom disease is dispelled or got rid of. Prajāpati is the presiding deity. This constellation resembles a kind of fish called Śakula, perhaps a whale. Apte describes Rōhiṇī as having the figure of a cart (Śakata). Rōhiṇī was one of the daughters of Daksha and a favourite consort of Chandra. This is identified with α Tauri or Aldebaran in the Hyades group, a group quite well known though more open and scattered than the Pleiades. It is also called Hindmost or Follower as it follows the Pleiades and Hyades. It is a pale rose double star marking the bull's south or left eye, a brilliant asterism in the heavens of the first magnitude, with Regulus, Antares and Fomalhaut, being of the solar spectrum type. β Tauri is Al Nath or the butting, forming the tip of one of the bull's horns, the star below it and a little to its right being the tip of the other horn. Close to this star is a nebula known as the Crab nebula. γ Tauri is an eclipsing star like Algol in Perseus. Another bull was located in 1777, called Taurus Poniatowski, a small and unimportant one, on the borders of Hercules.

A part of the fifth lunar asterism Mṛgaśiras is in the sign of Taurus. It resembles the head of an antelope and has three stars. Chandra is the presiding deity.

Yōgatāras are junction stars. One of the three small stars in the head of Orion is a junction star; two stars in the shoulders and two in the knees of Orion are said to give us the four feet of the antelope whose head may then be said to correspond with the three stars in the Orion's head, a view from which Tilak dissents (p. 98, Orion) For the whole of the antelope is not in the heavens and if Ārdra be correctly identified with the star in the right shoulder of Orion, we shall also have to include this star in the four feet of the antelope. And the old vedic works seem to lay down that it was the head of the antelope and not the antelope itself that was transplanted into the heavens.

The legend of Rudra severing the head of Prajāpati may be referred to. In Sāyaṇa's commentaries of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (II. 1. 2. 8) Mrigaśiras is regarded as the head of Prajāpati. When Rudra cut off Prajāpati's head with an arrow, the arrow and the head both jumped up to the heavens and are there stationed ever since. (Aitarēya version of the legend. III. 33.) In the Rig Vēda, the allusion to this story is contained in X. 61. 5-7. In another legend, Indra is said to have cut off the head of Vritra. (I. 5. 2-10; IV. 18. 9; VIII. 6-7.) But in the Rig Vēda (V. 34. 2 and VIII. 93. 14), Indra's enemy is described as appearing in the form of an antelope. According to Greek myth and legend, Apollo, indignant at his sister's affections for Orion, made her hit, with an arrow, a mark in the distant sea, which turned out to be Orion's head. In the heavens we therefore look for the head of a Mriga or Antelope or even a bull, with an arrow pierced in it. Sanskrit writers also mention a small group called Invâkas in Mrigaśiras and Amarasimha places them on the top of the antelope, while Tilak regards them as perhaps identical with the three small stars in the head of Orion.

Orion and Ursa Major are two most prominent and amongst the oldest constellations from the point of view of observation and recognition by the ancients. Orion contains two stars of the first magnitude, five of the second

and one of the third magnitude. On the right shoulder is Mrigaśiras (γ Orionis), on the left shoulder is α Orionis, Bellatrix or the Female Warrior; its left leg is represented by the brilliant Rigel (β Orionis) and the right by a star of the third degree, κ Orionis. Betelgeuze (Betelgeuze from Arabic Ibt-al-Jauza, meaning shoulder of the giant) is an irregularly variable orange star. The three kings of the Hunter forming the belt of Orion are δ, ϵ, ξ, Orionis. The girdle of Orion is Mintaka (Arabic Maintaka-al-Jaiza, giant's belt), Al-nilam and the belt δ Orionis, Al-nitak. Near the second of these, Al-nilam, a bright white star occupying a central place in Orion's belt, *i.e.*, in the sword or dagger of Orion is the great nebula in which Huyghens discovered twelve stars in the seventeenth century. A small constellation below Orion and to the right of Sirius is called the Lepus or the Hare group, the four principal stars of which were called by the Arabs the throne of the giant.

The constellation of Orion is unsurpassed in silent majesty, grandeur, wealth of numbers or interesting pictures.

The three bright stars in Orion forming the belt point downwards to Sirius in Canis Major, situated below Orion on the left hand side. Sirius or α Canis Majoris is the nearest and to our observation the most brilliant star in the heavens. This bluish white star was classed as red by Ptolemy with Aldebaran, Antares and others, and perhaps it has since changed its colour. With the Egyptians, it was an object of worship and they commenced their year on the day on which it rose just before the Sun. Arabs worship it and the Koran mentions it. At the Feast of the Floria it was the custom to sacrifice red dogs to the Dog Star. It figures in ancient history and legend and it was regarded as an ill-omened star amongst the Greeks.

In the adjoining constellation of Canis Minor is the beautiful binary star of the first magnitude Procyon or Foredog similar to Sirius. These two constellations containing the double stars of Sirius and Procyon, represent the hunting dogs of the great hunter Orion.

Monoceros or Unicorn devoid of any bright stars, occupies the space between the two dog constellations.

α Sirius is a typical white star, famous for its beautiful scintillation of colours. Two dissimilar stars are observed in Sirius and a third suspected; the second star is said to be $\frac{1}{10000}$th part of α Sirius.

We have now passed, in the words of Prof. Whitney, the innocent and lovely Rōhiṇī (Aldebaran) and over her the infamous Prajāpati (Orion) in full career, but laid sprawling by the three-jointed arrow (the belt of Orion), which was shot from the hand of the near avenger Sirius, as even now seen sticking in his body.

Mithuna (The Twins)

The third solar sign of the Twins or Castor and Pollux is known as Mithuna amongst the Hindus. Mithuna represents a man with a mace and a woman with a vīṇa, standing in an embrace, of saffron colour, Sudra caste, belonging to Vāyu Tattva and being Lord of the West. Castor and Pollux, the sons of Jupiter, are, according to Greek mythology, named after the two gods who came and fought for Rome in the battle of Lake Regillus. A part of the lunar asterism Mrigaśiras, Ārdra and most of Punarvasu are in this sign. Mrigaśiras has already been dealt with and is severally identified with λ Orionis, 113, 116 and 117 Tauri and λ with ϕ Tauri.

Ārdra the sixth lunar mansion is variously regarded as corresponding to α Orionis, 133 Tauri, etc., but is perhaps γ Geminorum or Alhena, a bright white star in the left foot of the southern twin, often called a bright foot of Gemini. Punarvasu and Punarvasu Dvitīya, β and α Geminorum are the twin spots in the head of Mithuna.

Ārdra is a single star in the form of a lotus whose presiding deity is Rudra, represented by the star in the right shoulder of Orion (α). But Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (III. 3) identifies Rudra with Mriga-Vyādha (Sirius). Castor is one of the finest of binaries, accompanied by a faint red star on the head of the northern twin and sometimes called

Apollo. Every one of these is itself a double star and Castor has been known as a colony of six stars. They are spectroscopic binaries, not being visible under the most powerful telescopes. With Castor or β Geminorum is identified Punarvasu which represents Vishnu and is said to reside in the human body again and again. It consists of four stars and its presiding deity is Aditi.

Karkataka (Crab)

Cancer or Karkāṭaka or the Crab is below Gemini containing five stars of the fifth magnitude and the non-luminous cluster of Cancer. It is the smallest and least conspicuous of the zodiacal group except for a cluster of stars called Præsepe but very ancient and important. It was called the Crab by the Chaldæans because when in this part of the zodiac, the Sun's apparent retrograde movement was well typified by the animal which walked backwards or obliquely. According to Greek legends, a giant sea crab came to help when the watersnake seized the foot of Hercules as he was fighting with the Hydra in the Lernean marshes. When he crushed the reptile under his heel and slew it, Juno in gratitude for the profferred service, importuned Jupiter to place the crab among the constellations. According to another, Bacchus on his way to the temple of Jove came to a great marsh over which he was carried by an ass, one of the two asses near by at the time, and as a reward they were transformed into stars. γ and δ Aselli are called Twin Asses with the cluster of Præsepe as the manger. Karkāṭaka is said to be one of the Nagas, of white colour, phlegmatic, belonging to the Brahman caste and to be Lord of the North. This sign is generally regarded as a bad portent. γ and δ Cancri, Asellus Borealis and Asellus Australis respectively or the North and South Asellus. 44 M Cancri is the Præsepe or the Bee-hive cluster, representing the manger of the asses ridden by Bacchus and Vulcan. Præsepe is also called the weather-glass or guide. For if it be not visible in a clear sky, it is a presage of a violent stormy sky according to

Pliny. It is a coarse extended star, situated on the head of the Crab, popularly termed the bee-hive manger or crib and known to the Chinese as Tseih-she-ke (exaltation of piled up corpses). With the Aselli, it was a cloudy spot of Cancer, mentioned by Ptolemy as causing blindness.

The eighth lunar mansion asterism of Pushya which is said to correspond to α, γ and δ Cancri, δ Cancri, ϕ, 44 M and η Cancri, has the appearance of an arrow and has three stars. It is so called because it nourishes one born under it. Its presiding deity is Brihaspati.

The next and ninth lunar mansion is that of Āślēṣa which means āliṅgana or embrace, the asterism of the serpent whose presiding deity is also a serpent. It is said to correspond to α Hydræ or Alphard, an orange star in the neck of the hydra or watersnake. By some it is also identified with α and β Cancri and 49 and 50 Cancri.

α Cancri or Acubens is a double star of the fourth magnitude, in the south-eastern claw of the Crab; β Cancri is a fourth magnitude star in its south-western claw between α Cancri and Procyon in the Canis Minoris and ζ Cancri is a fine quadruple star near the hind claws of the Crab and one of the most famous of the stellar systems. It is believed three bright stars in it of $5\frac{1}{2}$, 6 and $6\frac{1}{2}$ magnitudes revolve round a dark body which is apparently the most massive of the four. ι Cancri is a pretty double-formed yellow star of the fourth magnitude and a companion of the sixth magnitude.

Simha (Leo)

The fifth sign of the zodiac is Leo aptly called the Simha, of yellow colour, Kśatria caste, belonging to Agnitattva and is Lord of the East. In the heart of the majestic lion is Regulus or Maghā, a brilliant double star of the first magnitude in the heavens. This sign appears like a trapezium containing four stars.

Maghā or α Leonis, the tenth lunar mansion, resembles a plough and has five stars and is so called because it has the form of a house. Pitris or manes are the presiding deity. Regulus or α Leonis is a triple star, flushed white and ultra-

marine, situated on the body of the lion, meaning a little king. It is also called Cor Leonis, or the lion's heart, and symbolically, the crushing foot. A number of stars forming the sickle or plough are said to form the head and mane of the lion. α, β, γ, δ, ϵ, ζ, η Leonis form the sickle of which α as the supposed king of the sky was called Basiliskos whence the present name Regulus; ζ Leonis or Adhafera is a double star in the lion's mane called Alsarpha, the funeral pyre; η or Al Jabhah means the forehead, situated on the lion's mane; θ Leonis is called Deneb from Arabic, Dhanab-al-asad meaning lion's tail. Deneb or Arided in Cygnus and another in Capricorn are also called by this name. ι Leonis or Zosma is derived from a Greek word which means tunic or girdle and is a triple star, pale yellow, blue and violet, on the lion's back.

Pūrva Phalguṇī, the eleventh lunar mansion, is identified with it and means giving respect or greatness and it has two stars.

The next *i.e.* the twelfth lunar mansion Uttara Phalguṇī or Uttara is identified with ϵ Virginis or Vindematrix, but a part of it is said to lie in the zodiacal sign of Leo. It consists of two stars and looks like the part of a cot. Its presiding deity is Aryaman.

Between Ursa Major and Leo is Leo Minor dating only since 1690. Coma Berenices or the Hair of Berenice, contains a cluster of nebulæ with some thousands of millions of stars or the material for their formation in each nebula and up to millions have been photographed, while there are millions of millions beyond the range of the biggest telescope. Between Arcturus of Boötes and Leo there are no bright stars and the space is occupied by a large group of stars looking somewhat like the Pleiades on a much larger space. Leo Minor is not of the forty-eight ancient constellations and was regarded as a part of Leo. It has a large number of nebulæ.

Canis Venatici (Hunting Dogs). To the left of Coma Berenices and little higher up just below the southern part

of Ursa Major is a modern group, which consists of two bright stars, one above the other, the brighter being below the other one when the constellation is observed in the east. Cor Caroli or Charles' Heart is the name of the brighter star.

Kanya (Virgo)

In the following *i.e.* the sixth solar sign of Virgo or Kanya, the asterism Spica will appear very bright on the first of May and is helpful to identify the sign. Spica in Virgo, Regulus in Leo and Arcturus in Libra will make an equilateral triangle. Virgo is shaped like a γ the brightest star Spica being at the base. In eastern lands, the Virgin used to be represented as a sunburnt damsel with an ear of corn in each hand; but she is described by the Greeks and Romans as a winged angel holding ears of wheat, signifying the advent of the harvest, for the Greek harvest season coincided with the time when the Sun approached Spica in his yearly course. In modern days, it is represented in the manner of the Greeks. According to the epic mythology of the Hindus, Kanya is represented as a girl seated in a boat on water with a hare (śaśa) and agni in her two hands, of pingaḷa varṇa, controlling the South and belonging to the Vysya caste. The most conspicuous star in this sign is α Virginis to which we shall presently advert.

The lunar mansion after Uttara Phalguṇi is Hasta, identified with Gamma and Algorab, α and δ Corvi in the Crow. It has the appearance of a hand and consists of five stars and the Sun is the presiding deity. α Corvi once the brightest in the Raven group is now a fourth magnitude star and is called the Tent (Al-Khiba). Algorab or raven's beak is a double star, pale-yellow and purple, situated on the right wing of the Crow.

While Crater the cup, west of Corvus and supposed to be the original goblet out of which Noah first took his wine, has two of its stars in the making up of the figure Hydra or watersnake, the Crow which lies to the south-west of Spica gives one of its brightest stars to the snake. Owing to its shape, the Crow is well known to sailors as Spica's Spanker.

The stars of the Raven representing Noah's Raven, make it stand on the back of the Hydra, its beak to the right pecking the watersnake's back.

Chitra is the fourteenth lunar mansion and it is so called because of its twinkling appearance, being now visible and now again invisible. It is a single star and its presiding deity is Viśvakarma. It is also called Ariśta. Spica with which it is identified, α Virginis, is a brilliant, flushed white binary star, in the right ear of Virgo; β Virginus or *Zavijava* is a pale yellow star below Virgo's head; μ or η Virginus, *Zania* is a variable star on the northern wing of Virgo; γ or Caphir is a binary and slightly variable white star on the left arm of Virgo; λ or Khambalia is a small star on her left foot.

Tula (Libra)

In Libra, *i.e.*, Tula or the scales, the seventh solar sign, a little to the east of Spica, are two stars of the second magnitude which suggest the name of the balance given to this sign of the zodiac. It is a small and uninteresting group, lying just outside the milky way, without any bright stars. Tula represents a man holding the scales in his hands, of variegated colour, belonging to the Vāyu Tattva, of Sudra caste and Lord of the West. Of the lunar mansions associated with the zodiacal sign of Libra, Chitra or Spica has already been described. The next, the fifteenth mansion is Svāti or α Boötes in the Herdsman, well known as Arcturus. Svāti has the colour of saffron or kuṃkuma, a kind of crocus and is one star, with Vāyu as its presiding deity. Arcturus known as the right knee of Boötes, or situated on his left knee according to another account, is a golden yellow star. It is a very bright star, a thousand times brighter than the Sun and is the sixth brightest star in the heavens. It is called the Palace of the Emperors by the Chinese.

Boötes or Herdsman is also called Atlas, and the Herdsman is usually represented as a robust man with the left hand raised, his right hand holding a club. Small stars near the tail of the Bear which, the ancients imagined, Boötes was chasing or driving out, represent the left hand of the

Herdsman, raised high above his head, holding the hunting dogs in his leash. β Boötes or Nekkar is his head, *i.e.*, the group of stars on the extreme right above the hand holding the leash ; γ or Muphrid is his left shoulder ; δ or Izar, a fine double, called the zone or girdle is the whip in his right hand ; ϵ and ρ forming the girdle ; ϵ or Alkalrupos is the shepherd's crook or the herdsman's staff and is a beautiful binary. Below it are his right leg and foot, those near the sign Virgo representing his left leg and foot. Arcturus, however, represents no part of the body of the herdsman, and it is a principal giant in the heavens, next in brightness only to Sirius, Canopus, Vega and Capella, travelling towards Virgo at the rate of 200 miles a minute. It was called Arctophlax (Bear-keeper) because it means watcher of the Bear or Ursa Major.

The Nebula M 33 in Triangulum is the nearest of all the star nebulæ in space, the light from it occupying 850,000 years to reach the earth. The bulk of the sixteenth lunar mansion of Viśākha is in the sign Libra and it represents α Libræ or the southern scale. Viśākha has two branches, having the shape of a tōraṇa, arched doorway or ornamental arch, containing five stars presided over by Indra and Agni. α Libræ or Southern Scale is a double star and an eclipsing binary, pale yellow and bright in the Southern Scale of the Balance. β Libræ or Zubenelg or Northern Scale, is a pale emerald star, situated in the Northern Scale of the Balance and symbolically called the full price. According to an old story told by Servius, there were formerly only eleven signs of the zodiac, the stars now forming the Libra being the claws of the Scorpio, the new sign having been a later addition. In so far as the zodiacal signs are all named after animals the story gains credence but modern writers affirm Libra was included as a sign in ancient Chaldean and Egyptian zodiacs. The Libra, again, is credited as testifying the equality of days and nights in the autumn when the Sun is in Libra and as recording uniform temperature of the air in that season.

(*To be continued.*)

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS
No. XL

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

[On a Sema Naga Ætiological Myth about the Origin of the Black-Breasted or Rain Quail's Habit of Not Entering the Forests.]

The Black-breasted or Rain Quail (*Coturnin coromandelica*, Bonn) is called in Hindi *Chinā Batér*. It is a resident or a partially migratory bird and is found throughout the greater portion of India and in the Irrewaddi Valley in Burma. It is also found in Manipur, in Assam near Dibrugarh, in Sylhet, and around Chittagong. So it is undoubtedly found throughout the country between India and Burma in suitable localities. It is not met with in the extreme southern portion of India.

This quail, like the Grey Quail (*Coturnin communis*, Bonn) is rarely, if ever, found in forests. It remains much upon grassy lands of no great height and under the cover of growing crops. Although it inhabits many parts of India, it shifts its habitat according to the season ; and it visits only Northern Bengal, Oudh, Bihar, the N. W. Provinces, the Punjab and Sindh during the monsoons. Its call-note is very different from that of the Grey Quail, being dissyllabic only. It is found in pairs from April to October and singly during the rest of the year.

The Sema Nagas are a tribe of the Mongoloid Naga race and dwell in the north-east of the Angami country and, at present, inhabit the valleys of three large rivers together with the mountain ranges and plateaus that separate these waters.

As the Black-breasted or Rain Quail is most likely found in the country occupied by the Sema Nagas, occurring as it does throughout the country between India and Burma, the Sema Nagas are familiar with this bird and must have observed its habits. They have, therefore, fabricated the undermentioned myth to account for the origin of the Black-breasted or Rain Quail's habit of not entering the forests but

of remaining upon grassy lands and under cover of growing crops. It is as follows :—

The Quail and the Squirrel agreed to become friends. "My friend," said the one, "we two will have a look at the snares set by men." The other agreed to this proposal, and they went out to have a look at the snares set by men. As the Quail went along in front, he was caught in the snares. The Squirrel gnawed the snares through with his teeth. The Quail said to the Squirrel, "My friend, my throat is aching." (This was caused by putting his head into nooses.) "You should go in front now in your turn," said he. The Squirrel agreed to this proposal and accordingly, went in front. The Squirrel got caught in the snares of men. The Squirrel said to the Quail, "My friend, my throat is aching me," but the Quail, as he had no teeth, did not gnaw through the snare at all. And so the Squirrel died. It is for this reason that the Quail does not enter the forests, but keeps to the open fields, at least so they say.*

The Quail mentioned in the foregoing myth must be the Black-breasted or Rain Quail which is, no doubt, found in the Sema Naga country. From a careful analysis of the foregoing myth, we find that :—

(1) The Sema Nagas were very careful and keen observers of the habits of beasts and birds.

(2) They observed that the Black-breasted or Rain Quail always remained upon grassy lands of no great height and under cover of the growing crops but did not enter the forests.

(3) As they were ignorant of the laws of biology which govern the formation of the habits of beasts and birds, they could not explain to themselves the process by which the aforesaid habits of the Black-breasted Quail were formed. They, therefore, fabricated the foregoing myth to explain the origin of these habits.

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* *Vide The Sema Nagas.* By J. H. Hutton, M.A., I.C.S., C.I.E. London: Macmilian & Co., Ltd., 1921, pp. 306-7.

(4) They were further aware of the fact that the Squirrels belong to the order *Rodentia* (or Gnawing Animals) which possess sharp teeth and can gnaw through nooses and snares, and that the Quails, which are birds possessed of beaks, do not possess teeth capable of gnawing through snares.

(5) The foregoing myth also illustrates the belief of the Sema Nagas that in ancient times, beasts and birds could talk with each other like human beings.

(6) It also illustrates the wide-spread belief that, in ancient times, beasts and birds entered into friendly relations with each other, just as human beings did.

(7) It also inculcates the moral that men and beasts should not indulge in idle curiosity about things with which they have no concern. The same moral is also taught by the fable in the *Hitopadesha* which narrates how a monkey who, out of idle curiosity, wanted to handle a wedge which was inserted in a cleft block of wood, got killed by the two bifurcated pieces of the wooden block. The moral is very pithily taught by the Sanskrit verse:—

(१) अव्यापारेषु व्यापारं यो नरः कर्तुमिच्छति ।
(२) स भूमौ निहतः शेते कीलोत्पाटीव वानरः ॥

(i) The man, who wants to interfere in a matter with which he has no concern,
(ii) Gets killed like the monkey who took out the wedge (from the cleft block of wood).

(8) The foregoing myth also inculcates the moral: "Do not rely upon friends who are physically deficient and are, therefore, unable to help you in times of difficulty."

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS

No. XVIII

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

[On Two Dusan Ætiological Myths about the Evolution of the Cocoanut Palm, the Sugarcane, the Maize, the Bottle-Gourd Creeper and other Plants]

The Cocoanut Palm (*Cocus nucifera*), which belongs to the Order *Palmeæ*, is one of the most valuable trees growing on the sea-coasts of India, Burma and the Tropical Islands.

The Sugarcane (*Saccharum officinarum*), which belongs to the Order *Gramineæ*, is called in Sanskrit *Ikshu*, in Bengali *Ākh*, in Hindi *Ukh* and *Gannā*, in Tamil *Kairambu* and Telugu *Sheruku*. It is cultivated extensively all over India. There are many varieties of it. Some are suitable for the extraction of sugar; while others are sucked raw. The juice is obtained by grinding the cane in a press. This juice, when boiled down over a fire, becomes coagulated into unrefined sugar which is called *gur* or molasses. The sugarcane stalk out of which the juice has been extracted, and the leaves of this plant are suitable for the manufacture of mats and paper. But, at present, they are utilized only as fuel.

The Maize or Indian Corn (*Lea mays*), which belongs to the Order *Gramineæ*, is called in Bengali *Tanār*, in Hindi *Bhuttā* or *Makāri*, in Dakhini *Makhā-Jowari*, in Tamil *Makka Cholum* and in Telugu *Makkā Zonalu*. It is largely cultivated in Upper India and the Himalayas where it is an important article of food to the poorer classes of the people. It is eaten roasted in cobs when the latter are green; or its seeds are ground into flour and made into cakes. It is regarded as a very nutritious food.

The Bottle-Gourd Creeper (*Lagenaria vulgaris*), which belongs to the Order *Cucurbitaceæ* produces a curious kind of fruit which are of the shape of long clubs or flasks. It is extensively cultivated in tropical countries. There are many

varieties of it. It is called in Bengali *Lān* and in Hindi *Kadu*. It is eaten cooked and is, sometimes, made into a sweetmeat.

The Orang Dusans or "People of the Orchards" are a race of the Indonesian people who inhabit British North Borneo. They are the original inhabitants of the country, and the Bajans and Ildanuns, both of whom are Proto-Malayan peoples, and arrived late in the country, drove the former into the interior of the country. The Dusans narrate the two under-mentioned ætiological myths or legends which account for the creation of the world, of men and of the cocoanut palm, the sugarcane, the maize, the bottle-gourd creeper, the paddy and other plants.

When the world was first created, there was only water with a great rock in it. On this rock there lived a man named Kinharingan and a woman who was called Munsumundak. (It is stated that the former is the chief god of the Dusans and the latter is his wife.) They created land from the dirt on their bodies. Then they made a figure of stone but it could not speak. Therefore they made a figure of wood which though able to talk, afterwards became worn out and rotten. Last of all, they made a figure of clay from which are descended all the men and women who, at present, dwell upon this earth.

Thereafter both the man and his wife began to think how to provide the dwellers of the earth with food as there was no food to be had. Thereupon the woman gave birth to a child. On this, the man said: "As we have to provide the inhabitants of the earth with food, *let us cut this child to bits and plant the same in the ground*." This they did accordingly.

(1) After some time, a rice plant or paddy plant grew from the child's blood.

(2) A cocoanut palm grew from its head.

(3) A betel-nut palm grew from its fingers.

(4) A *sirih* vine or betel creeper grew from its ears.

(5) Its feet gave rise to the Indian Corn or Maize.

(6) Its skin produced a bottle-gourd creeper.

(7) Sugarcane grew from its throat.

(8) Its knees vegetated into the *kaladi* arum (*coladium esculentam*).

(9) And the rest of its body produced other good eatable things.

The second myth closely resembles the former one with this much difference only :—Kinharingan and Munsumundak obtained some earth from Bisagit (the spirit of small-pox) and mixing this earth with some pounded rock, created land. Then they created the people of this earth. They had one son and one daughter. As the people cried for want of food, they killed their girl-child and cut her up to bits and planted the same in the ground.

(1) From her blood grew the paddy plant.

(2) From her head, grew the cocoanut fruit upon which her eyes and nose can be seen at the present time.

(3) From her arm-bones grew the sugarcane.

(4) Her fingers vegetated into bananas.

(5) Other bits of her body produced all other kinds of animals.*

From a study of the preceding two myths, we find that :—

(1) Like the South-Sea Islanders and the Chinese, the Dusans were also close and keen observers of Nature.

(2) The Dusans also observed the close similarity between the round shape of the shell of the cocoanut fruit and the two socket-like depressions therein and the almost rotund shape of the human skull and the two empty eye-sockets thereof. They have, therefore, very appropriately hit upon the idea of the cocoanut-fruit having grown from the head of the slain child.

(3) The Dusans also noticed the similarity between the jointed stems of the sugarcane and the human arm-bones

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* *Vide "Studies in Religion, Folklore and Custom in British North Borneo and the Malaya Peninsula"*. By Ivar H. N. Evans, M.A., Cambridge University Press, 1923, pp. 45-47.

with the shoulder-joints, elbow-joints and wrist-joints. They have, therefore, very appropriately caused the sugarcane to spring from the slain child's arm-bones.

(4) I am inclined to think that if the bones of the toes of the human feet, with their closely-situated joints are tied up in a bundle, the bundle would look pretty nearly like a cob of the Maize or Indian Corn with the grains symmetrically arranged thereupon. Most likely, the Dusans noticed this resemblance and, therefore, caused the Indian Corn or Maize to grow from the feet of the slain child.

(5) The bananas or plantains very much resemble the slim and tapering fingers of the human hand. In fact, a row of plantains arranged upon a bunch bears some sort of similarity to the human hand with the five fingers arranged at the outer edge thereof. The Dusans must have noticed this similarity and have, therefore, fittingly described the bananas as growing from the slain child's fingers.

(6) The leaves of the *Sirih-vine* or Betel creeper (*Piper betle*) bear some sort of resemblance to the human ears. This resemblance must have attracted the notice of the Dusans who have, therefore, caused the Betel creeper to grow from the slain child's ears.

(7) Most likely, the glossy surface of the large leaves of the Bottle-Gourd creeper (*Laginaria vulgaris*) or of its bottle-shaped fruits bears some sort of similarity to the smooth skin of the human body. I am inclined to think that, on account of this similarity, far-fetched though it may be, the Dusans have described the Bottle-Gourd creeper as growing from the slain child's skin.

(8) The Corns of the *kaladi* arum (*Coladium esculentam*) bear some sort of similarity to the human legs just below the knees. This resemblance must have attracted the notice of the Dusans who have, therefore, described the *kaladi* arum as having grown from the slain child's knees.

(9) Last of all, the Dusans believe in the existence of the Vegetation Spirit in the blood of human beings. They have, therefore, described the rice plant or the paddy plant

as having grown from the slain child's blood. As I have already shown elsewhere* this belief is also common to many other races of savage people.

(10) The two preceding myths illustrate, in a striking manner, the selflessness, the beneficence, and the tender solicitude of the creator spirit for the welfare of mankind.

(11) The two preceding myths bear some sort of resemblance to the cosmogonic myths of other races, in almost all of which the universe is described as having been, first of all, one vast expanse of water and then as having been covered with land created from small quantities of mud lying at the bottom of the water and brought up to the surface of the water by animals or birds. In the two Dusan myths, the land is described as having been created from the dirt on the creator being's body.

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* *Vide* my article entitled "*On Two Dusan Ætiological Myths about the Paddy Plant*," which has been published in '*Man in India*' (Ranchi) Vol. VI, pp. 140-49.

NOTES

Mythological Studies

" KUMARA-KUJA-KINSHIP"

IN a series of very learned and interesting papers contributed to the *Q.J.M.S.*, Vols. XV, XVI and XVII dealing with " The Seven Dwīpas of the Puranaṣ ", the late Mr. V. Venkatachellam Iyer has tried his best—with success apparently—to locate them and identify them with the known lands of our existing globe ; and of these Dwīpas, the Krauncha has received an exhaustive treatment at his hands. The conclusion arrived at seems to be that it is Asia Minor which was so called after the mountain Krauncha which again is a portion of the Taurus System, *viz.*, Chimæra, the burning or fire-breathing mountain monster of the Lycian or Cilician Coast ; that this was the celebrated scene of the legendary battle between Kumāra, the Son-God and the demon (Asura) Tāraka in which the latter was killed and the former came out victorious ; and that this, in essence, is a nature myth describing probably the volcanic activity of that region and personifying and depicting the mountain Chimæra as a demon, and the volcanic eruption and earthquake that set the whole mountain ablaze with all vegetable and animal life therein in conflagration and caused cleavage or holes in it as the divine agency or power that sent it 'asunder from fundament to summit' with his shaft or javelin (Śakti). And to reach this conclusion, Mr. Iyer has explored the mythologies of the ancient races that had inhabited Western Asia and the Mediterranean Coast, and the travellers' accounts and archæological studies of these regions, but seems to have omitted to note and stress one important point, *viz.*, the legendary life-history—the early life-history of the embryonic stage and infancy—of the Son-God, Skanda, which will indicate his igneous origin and nature and thereby will serve to strengthen his argument. This god, according to the legend, was first conceived by Pārvatī (Śiva's consort) and remained in her womb for a while, was thence transferred to the charge of the fire-god (Agni), who bore or kept him next for a while, and was thereafter put in the river Ganges which after carrying him

for a while with great difficulty deposited him at last among the reeds wherefrom the six divine mothers (*Kritikas*) picked him up and nursed him in infancy. So he grew up. Hence he is called *Agnibhū* and *Kārtikēya*—the two significant names—the first of which means "one born of fire" and the second "the son of *Kritikas*" the six stars that make up the lunar mansion (or constellation) *Krittika* of which the ruling or presiding deity is *Agni*—the god of fire. Hence he is also called "*Shāṇmātura*".

"अग्नेर्भार्यावसोर्धारा पुत्राद्रविणकादयः ।
स्कंदश्च कृत्तिकापुत्रो येविशाखादयस्ततः ॥"

(*Bh. P.*, VI. 6. 13. 14.)

"स्कंदश्च कृत्तिकापुत्रोग्नेः पुत्रः षाण्मातुर इति अग्निभूरिति च प्रसिद्धेः"

(Commentator Sreedharaswamiji.)

This life-history is briefly summarized in the first verse of a modern Stotra "Skanda-Pañchakam", composed by a living writer—Parīkshit Rāmavarma Thampuran of the Cochin Royal House (published along with other Stotras of his in Malayalam, Vidyavinodini Press, Trichur.)

"आदौ गर्भे समवहदुमाशंकरी सा तृतीया
मूर्तिः पश्चात्तदनुदिविषन्निम्नगायं कथंचित् ।
यस्योत्पत्तिः किल शरवर्ण स्तन्यदाः कृत्तिकाष्षट्
षड्वक्त्रं तं त्रिभुवनगुरुं नौमिविश्वार्तिहत्यै ॥"

Another point to be noted about Skanda is that he is a war-god or war-lord famous for his proficiency in the art of war, a divine generalissimo unequalled for his skill in warfare, and hence called *Sēnānī*; and, as such, is regarded as an incarnation of, and to have derived his powers from, Vishṇu or the Supreme God. "स्कंदोहं सर्वसेनान्याम्" says Lord Krishṇa to his devotee Uddhava (*Bh. P.*, XI. 16. 22). His consort *Dēvasēnā** personifies the army of the Devas and his weapon, a javelin or shaft (Vil) personifies Śakti. Hence he is known as *Śakti-dhara*.

Many of these important characteristics of Skanda are shared by the planet *Kuja* or *Bhauma*—Mars, who again is a war-god in Roman mythology. This planetary god is also known as *Kumāra*, *Śakti-hasta* and *Aṅgāraka*. He is called *Kumāra* probably because he is the Son-God born of the Mother Goddess

* *Dēvī Bh. P.*, IX. 46. "*Indra-Sēnā*" is her Vedic name as the commentator shows by a Vedic quotation under IX. 46. 5.

Earth and Vishṇu incarnate as Varāha (the Boar) when the latter raised her up from under the sea and enjoyed her pleasant company for a pretty long period. This story of the birth of this planet is given in the *Dēvī-Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (XI. 9). Hence the planet is called *Kuja* and *Bhauma* which means 'one born of the womb of Earth'. The epithet *Śakti-hasta* is synonymous with *Śakti-dhara*, and describes him as the bearer of the weapon *Śakti*, javelin or shaft. The name *Aṅgāraka* in which the suffix *ka* has a diminutive significance only shows that he is in appearance like a spark of fire or red cinder piece. It then seems to be the legendary account of his origin that he is a spark of fire or red cinder shot up from the womb of Earth to the high heaven where he shines as '*Maṅgalagraha*'! There is one more point to be noted in this connection which may serve to make the kinship closer between these two Son-Gods. Hindu astrologers say that when the planet Kuja occupies a favourable position—say, the third zodiac sign (Rāsi) from the one assigned to the star of our nativity—we will then enjoy the favours of the other Son-God Skanda or Subrahmanya. These striking similarities and this close relationship would suggest their common origin and nature—volcanic or igneous.

"धरणीगर्भसंभूतं विद्युत्कान्तिसमप्रभम् ।
कुमारं शक्तिहस्तं च मंगलं प्रणमाम्यहम् ॥"

"Navagraha Stotra" and "Mangala Stotra" (*Skanda Purāna*), "*Brihat Stotra Ratnākara*," pp. 363-64 and 365-66, Bombay Edition.

There was another *Kuja* or *Bhauma*, *viz.*, the Asura Tyrant Naraka, who was also of the same parentage as gave birth to the planet, *viz.*, the union of the Mother Goddess Earth with Vishṇu as Varāha (the Boar) and who was killed by his own father in Krishṇa incarnation for his oppressive and wicked actions and more especially for having forcibly captured and kept in confinement and custody persons and properties unlawfully—(1) persons numbering sixteen thousand and odd royal maidens whom Krishṇa himself married after their release, and (2) properties, consisting of the valuable ear-rings of the holy mother of gods (Aditi), the royal umbrella of Varuṇa, the god of waters and a peak of the precious stone (*Maniparvatam*) from the Devas' mountain (Maṇdara); all of which were restored

to the respective owners. Naraka's kingdom was Prāgjyotisha and his capital, a fortified city well protected with intricate defensive works consisting of strategical and military outposts and also with water, fire and wind. This stronghold was stormed, captured and destroyed. This kingdom is now marked a little above Vanga (Lower Bengal) in the sketch map enclosed in the article headed "Earliest Indian Traditional History" contributed to the *Quarterly Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (April 1914, pp. 267 seq.) by the late Mr. F. E. Pargiter. (See *Vishṇu Purāṇa* V. 29. and *Bhāg. P.*, X, 59-0 for verification of the version given here and for further details.)

Each of the Purāṇas is in itself complete and independent giving a particular version of the ancient mythological history without any reference to any other version contained in another Purāṇa. Thus, for instance, according to *Dēvī Bhāgavata Purāṇa* the union of Bhū-Varāh—the Earth Goddess and the Boar God—had given birth to 'Maṅgaḷagraha', *i.e.*, the planet Kuja whereas "the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*" says that the Asura Kuja or Naraka was born of the same union. Each of these Purāṇas mentions the birth of one son only. Whether there was only one son or whether there were two or more born to them we are unable to say for certain. Anyhow we have to postulate the birth of two, and proceed to explain the myths. And again when we compare these Purāṇas with one another and with other ancient mythologies, striking similarities, differences and discrepancies are met with which have to be explained, accounted for and reconciled. Thus God Kumāra of the *earth* seems to be of volcanic origin bearing a striking resemblance to the planet god Kumāra or Kuja of *heaven* who again is said to be a brother of Asura Kuja or Naraka of the *netherworld*. The Vedic mythology chiefly refers to the atmospheric disturbances and the extraordinary phenomena of the sky and the high heavens (much as the dark cloud banks, lightning, thunder storms, cyclonic winds, and rain, eclipse, etc.) as the conflicts between the gods of light, heat and water and the demons and dragons of darkness, cold and drought in which the former ultimately win; and thereby give us these necessary elements for our maintenance and therefore deserve our thanks which are offered with prayers for continuance of their favours. Here on earth we have geological

disturbances resulting in volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, upheaval or subsidence of lands, engulfing or burial of cities or towns with their people and treasures, etc. Such phenomena are attributed to divine or devilish agencies according as they bring good or evil to us. Thus a volcanic eruption causing cavity, holes or fissures in high mountains that may be the strongholds of our foes may be attributed to the God Skanda ; such activities under the sea resulting in the upheaval of lands with throwing up of red cinder pieces or sparks of fire may be the natural explanation of the battle between the giant (Hiraṇyāksha-Asura) and the God Vishṇu as Varāha or the Boar during which, it may be imagined, red cinder pieces were shot up to high heaven where a bright one of them shines as the planet Kuja or Mars. Lord Krishṇa's fight with, and overthrow of Naraka Asura (Kuja) and the rescue of the royal damsels and treasures may refer to the catastrophe of the subsidence or sinking of the earth to a great depth causing the burial of a great city with its people and wealth as a result of violent geological changes, and the heroic rescue of the persons and things engulfed or buried thereby. These are my imaginative and tentative suggestions for a solution of the problem of "Kumāra-Kuja-Kinship".

K. RAMAVARMA RAJA, B.A.

REVIEWS

Rasaratnakara of Salva

MADRAS UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS, KANARESE SERIES, NO. 2.

Edited by Mr. A. Venkata Rao, B.A., L.T., and Pandit H. Sesha Ayyangar of the University Institute of Oriental Studies and Research, Madras.

(Demy 8vo. xxi + xix + 231. Ananda Press, Madras, 1932. Price Rs. 2-4-0)

IN the long history of Alaṅkāra literature or Indian æsthetics extending over a period of at least one thousand five hundred years there have naturally been several schools of thought. They can be broadly divided into two groups, the Prācīna and the Navīna or the Old and the New. The beautiful in literature is, according to the former, determined by the literary style or expression (Rīti or Vakrōkti) while according to the latter it depends on suggestion and sentiment (Dhvani and Rasa).

The Kannada pandits and poets have been impelled by a love of their language to adapt into Kannada from the earliest times, 'the best that has been thought and said in the world' of Sanskrit culture. We accordingly find, in the field of Alaṅkāra, the ideas of Daṇḍi, Bhāmaha, Ānanda Vardhana, Mammata and other leaders of æsthetic thought, old and new, incorporated in the works of Nṛpatuṅga, Nāgavarma, Udayāditya, Kavikāma Tirumalārya and other Kannada writers on Rhetoric. These were published from time to time either by the Mysore Government or the proprietors of the Kāvya Mañjari Series, Mysore; but we owe the present book to the enterprising Kannada scholars of the Oriental Department of the Madras University.

The author of *Rasaratnākara* is Kavi Sālva (*c.* 1550), a Jain, who was patronised by Salva Malla, a chief ruling at 'Nagira' in what is now South Canara District. The work is mainly based on *Kāvyānuśāsana* of Hemachandra, that versatile Jaina scholar of the twelfth century. But the author has also largely drawn upon other Sanskrit and Kannada rhetoricians such as Amarānandi, Rudra Bhatta, Vidyānātha, Nāgavarma, Kāma and Ganéshvarājni (-gni ?), the last of whom is probably a Kannada writer and is heard of for the first time.

The text of *Rasaratnākara* consists of 144 verses called sūtras or aphorisms, accompanied by the 'vritti' or gloss and followed by examples from older Kannada writers; and the whole work is divided into four chapters. The first chapter deals with Śriṅgāra, the second with the other eight sentiments, the third with the heroes and heroines—through whom the Rasās are exhibited—and the fourth with the minor sentiments.

Of the six appendices at the end of the book, the first and the most important is 'Śāradā Vilāsam', a monograph on Dhvani (suggestion) and the classification of literature on the predominance or otherwise of this element therein. It is attributed to the author of *Rasaratnākara*; but there is no evidence to prove the authorship. The plan of the work is different; the 'sūtras' are not in verses but aphoristic prose, and they are followed not by 'vritti' (gloss) but 'vivaraṇa' (explanation). The references to Sālva Malla (verses 49-55) indicate that this work was also written by a pandit or poet patronised by Sālva Malla; but he need not necessarily have been Kavi Sālva. The other five appendices give the Index for the first lines of the text and examples, parallel passages from the Sanskrit and Kannada sources and various kinds of heroes, heroines and sentiments in tabular form—accessories very helpful in the study of the work.

The publication of the present work, which has filled up an important gap, may be said to have almost completed the series of Kannada works embodying the history of Sanskrit æsthetic thought in all its essentials, good,—and let us say—bad and indifferent, because there is not a little that is morbid and unfruitful along with much that is precious and original in the Alaṅkāra literature. The Madras University have undoubtedly laid the Kannada literary world under a debt of gratitude.

The editors have taken all possible care to see the book through the press, but the *errata* extend to two full pages and do not include all the errors. Most of them are, however, only typographical. The work certainly deserves much better printing and paper and the general get-up compares very unfavourably with other books like "The Sphota Siddhi" recently published in the Sanskrit series of the University.

A. R. K.

The Mahabharata

ĀDIPARVAN, FASCICULE 6

(*Published by The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona*)

WE are glad to observe that this scientific edition of the Mahābhārata, which accurately and clearly registers various readings, has made commendable progress and the constituted text of the fascicules so far issued has given complete satisfaction furnishing as it does a true version of the probable original. The Institute in general and Dr. Sukhthankar in particular deserve to be congratulated on the success of this great undertaking.

The fascicule under review contains, besides beautiful coloured illustrations, a facsimile of the Śāradā Codex from which this recension is established.

It behoves all lovers of learning to extend their generous help towards the completion of this monumental work.

S. S.

A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts

VOL. IV—PART 2—TAMIL

(*Published by The Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras*)

THIS Second Part of the Fourth Volume of the Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts is on the same plan as that of the Second Part of the Third Volume and has the numbers of the manuscripts and the pages of this part in continuation thereof.

The compiler, Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidyāvācaspati S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., has given brief but informing descriptions of the various works listed in this Catalogue. He has considerably enhanced the usefulness of the work by including in it three indices—Subject, Author and General.

The printing and get-up leave nothing to be desired.

N. I.

Life of Emanuel Swedenborg

BY GEORGE TROBRIDGE

(*Swedenborg Society, Inc., London*)

EMANUEL SWEDENBORG was born in 1688; studied at the University of Upsala; entered the Board of Mines as Assessor; and wrote many treatises on metallurgy and allied subjects. In middle life, he took to the study of philosophy and spent the

remainder of his life in the pursuit of theology and spiritual philosophy.

He has strong claims on the gratitude of the philosophical student by the publication of theological books suited to modern times, wherein he has affirmed Christian truths hitherto dimly perceived and disclosed the facts of the life after death.

He was very learned and universally esteemed for his excellent character. Though of a gentle disposition, he was straightforward and would not betray truth. He died in 1772 and his remains, buried in London, were later taken to Upsala and there deposited in the Cathedral.

The work under review gives a true record of Swedenborg's life and a popular exposition of his teachings. The Swedenborg Society has done a great service in making the writings of the great soul available to the public in cheap but neatly got-up volumes.

N. I.

Indian Literature in China and the Far East

BY PRABHAT K. MOOKARJI
(*Greater India Society, Calcutta*)

THE story of India's cultural conquest is of absorbing interest not only to students of history and Indian culture but to all educated Indians. It ever remains as a high water-mark of the enterprise of the ancient Indians who carried their culture to China, Tibet, Central Asia, Annam, Siam, the Island of Bāli, etc., and converted the people of these lands to their faith by peaceful means. Every Indian is proud of such deeds of his forefathers. While an extensive literature has grown up on the subject in French, not much has been done by Indians in this direction and it is only recently that attempts are being made to render into English and give wide publicity to the researches of several European scholars in this field by Professors R. C. Muzumdar, Bagchi, Dr. Kalidas Nag and others and by institutions like the Greater India Society.

Students of Indian culture must be highly grateful to Mr. Prabhat Kumar Mookarji, Librarian, Visvabharati, Santiniketan, for bringing out in book form the materials he had gathered on the spread of Buddhism in China from some of the well-known Oriental Journals. The book is, as has been admitted by the

author himself, a compilation but a compilation done with exquisite skill. The contents of the book though dry are yet interesting to those who are earnest to know about the spread of Buddhism in China. From an analysis of the catalogue of works translated into Chinese by scholars like Dharmaratna, Kumarabodhi and especially by Kumarajiva and Parmartha, it is clear that almost all the works on the Triratna of the Buddhists, *viz.*, Buddha, Dharma and Sangha, have been long ago rendered into Chinese. Most of the originals of these works are lost in India but preserved in Chinese and Tibetan. Starting from 64 A.D. scholars went to China for the spread of India's culture and just after 600 A.D., Chinese scholars like Hiuentsiang, attracted by the culture of India, came here, joined the Buddhist Church and actually sat at the feet of Buddhist scholars to imbibe the spirit of India's culture. A book which narrates such deeds of the patriotic scholars of India and of China deserves to be read by all Indians.

V. R.

EDITORIAL

IN the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona (Vol. III, Parts III–IV), Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A., taking stock of all materials attributed to the Kulārṇava Tantra, thinks that it consisted of more materials than what are found in the published version and refers to a complete work called Kulārṇava though in little agreement with the published work. Speaking of the manuscript of the work in the Library of the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat of Calcutta and examining its contents, he comes to the conclusion that it belongs to the school of Uttara Kaulas while the published edition pertains to that of Pūrva Kaulas.

***

Prof. H. D. Velankar concludes his interesting and instructive article on "Vṛttajātisamuccaya" of Virahāṅka in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Vol. 8. Nos. 1 and 2). A great service has been rendered in restoring the text of this rare work on Prākrit metres.

***

The *Modern Review* (August, 1932) contains an illuminating article on "Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Valley Civilization" by Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda under the caption of "Sind Five Thousand Years Ago" in which some original remarks are made.

***

Mr. Satindra Narayan Roy's paper in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society*, Bombay, on "The Early Temples of Orissa" is as interesting as it is comprehensive. One cannot help concurring with his concluding remarks: "The high water-mark of artistic perfection remained for a very short time. The earliest temples were the best from the point of view of art. When the decline came, the structures and the shapes of the temples remained much the same but their artistic finish and decorations degenerated considerably."

***

Mr. Donald F. Thomson's illustrated article on the "Place of Fire in Primitive Ritual" in *Man* (July, 1932) will greatly interest students of the Fire Cult. Mr. Thomson describes the importance of fire in social life in North Queensland among

the Koka Dai'-Yuri, the Yiṇtjiṅgga, the Koko Ya-o and the Ompela tribes.

***

The Vedanta Kesari (August, 1932) contains a short but interesting article on "Was Śaṅkara a Crypto-Buddhist?" by Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar. After minutely discussing the question, Mr. Aiyar sums up his conclusions thus: "One need not rise above common-sense to distinguish between a system that denies essence to things including the soul (nirātmaka) and that which affirms Brahman as the immortal essence of each and all (sadātmaka); between Undiluted Nihilism and Absolute Monism; between the Universal Nay and the Universal Yea."

***

The Kalpaka (November, 1932) contains the translation of a minor but celebrated Upaniṣat called "Pāśupata Brahma" wherein the secret of the Ajapa Mantra "Haṁsa" is dealt with.

***

Prof. A. R. Wadia in an article on "The Inter-University Board of India and its Possibilities" in *India and the World* makes a spirited appeal to every University to make this unity effective by each playing the game and doing all it can.

***

The Indian Antiquary (October, 1932) has a very interesting illustrated article on "The Great Stūpa at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in Southern India" by Mr. A. H. Longhurst. In the inscriptions belonging to the Great Stūpa, the monument is called the "Mahāchetiya" of the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, clearly showing that the tomb was consecrated to the Great Teacher and to nobody else. The discovery of the dhātu or bone relic proves that the monument was a dhātugarbha or "tomb containing a relic" and that it was not a mere "dedicatory stūpa".

***

Rev. J. F. Pessen, S.J., in an article entitled "High Value of Avidyā" in the *Review of Philosophy and Religion* (September, 1932) has ably refuted the views of some scholars who contend that Avidyā means only Bīja-śakti or only nescience as also Fr. Johann's contention that Bīja-śakti, being Avidyākalpita, is utterly non-existent.

***

The Journal of the American Oriental Society (September, 1932) contains two thought-provoking articles by Anand K. Coomaraswamy styled "Ābhāsa" and "Reactions to Art in India".

***

Principal Kalipada Mitra, in a very instructive article on "The Svastika" in *Man in India* (April-September, 1932), makes these interesting remarks:—"Thus we find that the Svastika represents the male principle. To us of the civilized age, the use of the reproductive symbols as auspicious charms (really evil-scaring) may seem monstrous, but, as a matter of fact, nations of old (such as the Egyptians) used the symbol of the male reproductive principle as an evil-scarer. When we use the horse-shoe, we do it without ever imagining that the symbol of the female principle brings us luck."

Books received during the Quarter ending 30th September 1932

Presented by :—

Government of Travancore—

Travancore Archæological Report : 1106 M.E. (16th August 1931).

Government of Mysore—

(*Departmental Reports*).

Public Instruction—1930-31.

Agriculture—1930-31.

Police—1930-31.

Criminal Justice—1930-31.

Civil Justice—1930-31.

Jails and Lock-ups—1931.

Horticulture—1930-31.

Season and Crop—1930-31.

Hospitals and Dispensaries—1930-31.

Joint-Stock Companies—1932.

Representative Assembly Proceedings : Dasara Session—October 1931.

Legislative Council Proceedings : December Session—1931.

Mysore Census Report—1931, Pt. IV.

Mysore Census Report—1931, Pt. V.

Greater India Society—

Indian Literature in China and the Far East—by P. K. Mukerji.

Bhandarkar Oriental Institute—

Mahabharata (B.O.R.I. Edition) : Ādiparvan, Fasc. 6—by V. S. Sukhthankar.

The Authors—

Beginnings of South Indian History.

Early History of Vaishnavism in South India.

Mani-Mekhali in its Historical Setting.

Presidential Address at the First Bombay Historical Congress.

Notes on the Seven Pagodas.

—All by S. Kṛishṇaswāmi Aiyangar,

ಉಪದೇಶ ಸಾಹಸ್ರಿ—by Y. Subba Rao.

Geography of Early Buddhism—by B. C. Law.

Government of India—

Somanatha and other Mediæval Temples in Kathiawad (Arch. Sur. of India, I.S., Vol. XLV).—by H. Cousens.

Karnataka Sangha, Central College—

ಚೀನಾದೇಶದ ಬೌದ್ಧಯಾತ್ರಿಕರು—by G. P. Rajaratnam.

ಸೋಕ್ರಟೀಸನ ಮರಣ—by S. G. Sastry.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington—

Seth Eastman: The Master Painter of the North American Indians (S.M.C., Vol. 87, No. 3)—by David I. Bushnell, Jr.

Madras University—

ರಸರತ್ನಾಕರ (ಸಾಳ್ವ)—by A. Venkata Rao and H. Sesha Ayyangar.

The Calendar, Vol. I, Part I.

The Calendar, Vol. I, Part II.

Messrs. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London—

Administration of Mysore under Sir Mark Cubbon—by K. N. Venkatasubba Sastry.

Purchased—

Indian Annual Register: 1931, Vol. II (July–December)—by Mitra.

NOTICE

The Mythic Society having been registered as an Associate Society of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Rule 105 of the Rules of that Society governing the privileges of members of Associate Societies is published for information :—

"Rule 105.—Members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and of Branch and Associate Societies are entitled, while on furlough or otherwise temporarily resident within the limits of Great Britain and Ireland, to the use of the Library as non-resident members, and to attend the Meetings of the Society other than special General Meetings; and in the case of any Member of any Society aforesaid applying for election as a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, nomination as laid down in Rule 4 shall not be necessary."

S. SRIKANTAYA, General Secretary and Treasurer,
Mythic Society.